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ABSTRACT

Papers presented at two institutes held in Australia to discuss multicultural education are presented. Topics discussed include demographic background of Australia, principles of Australian pluralism, problems and issues for teachers making decisions on curriculum, the educational experience of children of migrant origin, the objectives and implementation of multicultural education, a case study of an Aboriginal school, the experience of the Strelley Station school, which has provided a model and inspiration for bilingual education and community involvement, a case study of a school where the children are predominantly Anglo-Saxon, a description of St. John's Greek Orthodox College, key issues raised by a national survey of ethnic schools in Australia 1981-82, implications of multicultural education for teacher education, a national language policy, commonwealth initiatives in multicultural education, educational theories and practices, cultural and linguistic factors affecting the educational achievements of Aboriginals, influences of ethnic community organizations on multicultural education, strategies for the development of a multicultural education curriculum, ethnic and racial prejudice in Australia, and policies and programs for the teaching of languages. A list of participants is included. (RM)

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UNITY IN DIVERSITY
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

Barbara Falk and Joy Harris
Editors

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PREFACE

The Leadership Institutes on Multicultural Education were a new venture for the Australian College of Education. The concept originated with Alfred Sampson. He died suddenly in 1979 while he was Chairman of the Victorian Chapter of the College and his plans came to fruition with the financial backing of the College Council. The Institutes were the College's memorial to him.

Invitations were issued to sixty people active in many aspects of multicultural education. The College was able, through its wide membership, to gather together the people who have contributed to this volume. At the first meeting in Ballarat the papers and discussions focused on the relationship between theories of education and the practical problems of implementing them in the light of other than educational influences on decision making. The three days there were not long enough to force the discussions to conclusion.

People present advised that the program for the Second Institute should be changed to enable deeper consideration of what had been decided were the crucial issues. Therefore, international teacher and pupil exchanges and an Australian International College were laid aside for later study.

It was unfortunate that not all who attended the Ballarat Institute were able to be present in Melbourne some six months later, but in each syndicate discussion were several link persons and the earlier papers were available to all participants.

Readers of the collected papers and reports of discussion groups will form their own opinion of whether the discussion has been moved forward by the Institutes. There is no doubt that they succeeded in bringing into frank and fruitful exchanges persons from many fields of education who do not usually meet. The College of Education was uniquely equipped to offer this opportunity, not only to its members, but to many non-members who work in the field of multicultural education.

L. O'Brien,
Convenor.

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INTRODUCTION

The two Alf Sampson Leadership Institutes held in May and November 1982, under the auspices of The Australian College of Education, were an experiment in bringing together, from all over Australia, persons who were experts in aspects of multicultural education. The number of participants was limited; those invited represented a wide range of perspectives on issues in the multicultural debate. It was hoped that progress could be made in bridging the gap between statements of policy and planning programs in educational institutions.

The First Institute, chaired by the President of the College, Dr. Eva G. Eden, was held at Ballarat in May, 1982. The sixty members included teachers, scholars and administrators in multicultural education; representatives of each of the state multicultural education advisory committees; and, for the first time in such a setting, representatives of Aboriginal education. The indefatigable work of the Convenor, Les O'Brien, and the staff at the Ballarat College of Advanced Education, and the erudite contribution of the Co-ordinator, Barbara Falk, in no small measure contributed to the success of the undertaking.

The theme of the First Institute was that policy and practice, in the multicultural field, as in all education, are conditioned by factors other than theories of education. Educational policy makers are susceptible to pressure from ethnic groups, from those responsible for immigration policy, from trade unions and from employers concerned with the efficiency of the workforce. There was a realisation that the debate must take into account *economic, social* and *political* realities.

Prior to the meeting participants received three contributed papers dealing with theoretical issues, five case studies of schools of varying degrees of ethnic mix, Immigration and Education Policy statements from the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and reports from each of the state multicultural advisory committees.

The sixty participants were divided into small workshop groups which discussed issues arising from the material distributed prior to, and that contained in the papers presented at, the Institute. The workshop discussion reports from the First Institute have not been reproduced in this volume with the exception of arguments pertaining to ethnic schools. A short synopsis of these arguments, drawn from group discussions and from individual contributions in May, has been added to the report of the discussion group which specifically addressed this topic at the Second Institute.

The workshops initiated for participants what was considered to be an important function of the Alf Sampson Leadership Institutes, the establishment and enlargement of networks, vital in a field which is conceptually so encompassing, and in which practitioners are working at various levels in the system, and are spread over a wide geographical area. The diversity of views expressed in the discussion groups, in individual written comments and from the forum at the First Institute indicates that there is that variety of both political and educational stances which precludes arriving at consensus statements. The May Institute left participants confronted with more unsolved problems than they brought to the meeting. While this may create problems for editors, it must be considered to constitute an advance.

This collection of readings summarises the experience of those who were present at the Institutes. A List of Participants and the institutions which they represented is provided. It has not been possible to include in this volume all of the material distributed prior to the First Institute. For example, none of the state multicultural education advisory committee reports are included. The authors of these reports are included in the Introduction to Part III and their addresses are in the List of Participants. People who are anxious to read these reports are advised to contact the relevant committees or the authors of the reports.

One of the contributed papers (Forrest) is reproduced in full, and all five case studies are contained in the readings in Part II. Because of their length, only synopses of the other two theoretical contributed papers (Bullivant and Wolf) are included in this publication, but readers are recommended to obtain copies of the full texts for a more detailed presentation of the arguments. All key papers are reproduced and are to be found under the particular session in which they were presented. Some authors (Piperoglou, Themal) asked that their papers should appear in the form in which they were delivered. Others availed themselves of the opportunity to edit their contributions and to include references so that readers could pursue the arguments further. The editors have respected the desires of the authors.

The organisation of this volume has followed the format of the two Institutes. By electing to present the material in this way it was hoped that readers could follow and share the theme outlined by the organisers. By arranging papers in the session in which they were presented or discussed, however, it is easy to lose some of quite major differences in approach between authors. A brief introduction to each session, and to the Second Institute, has been provided by the editors. Some of the major points raised in papers are mentioned, and attention is drawn to some of the areas of disagreement between authors. It has, however, been left to readers to tease out the many more contradictory stances and to evaluate the positions held by those who espouse them.

It would be a pity if the organisation of the volume in this way makes it more difficult for those who were not present to appreciate the significant contribution that was provided on Aboriginal education, discussed as it was in a conference on multicultural education. The combination of the four papers which are concerned with Aboriginal education (Willmott and Forrest in Session Four; and the two case studies by Bucknall and Powierza in Session Two) give a very wide coverage, and make a strong case for the necessity for quite drastic changes in approach to the educational needs of Aboriginal Australians.

It is also to be hoped that readers will be able to draw together the common threads, and to detect emphases and issues which would not have been expressed in the same form or to the same degree had a similar gathering been held even five years ago. We were then all trying to focus on ethnicity and endeavouring to gain an understanding of the concept. This process was necessary to redress an imbalance and a neglect in our conceptual framework and in the policies which rested on this vision of society.

In 1982 we can detect a questioning of this emphasis, and this changed approach is evident in several of the papers and discussion group reports contained in this volume. The direction in which the debate appears to be moving is *not* to suggest that ethnicity is no longer salient, but that it is time to widen our horizons, to develop a conceptual framework which will more adequately represent the reality of Australian society: and that framework must include facets of identity other than ethnicity. It is noteworthy that there are strong arguments appearing for the inclusion of social class (or socio-economic status), a variable previously so prominent in the educational literature and largely neglected in the multicultural debate.

This questioning of emphasis is not confined to the field of education. It is also prominent in the social science literature concerning ethnicity and the ageing. Bengtson (1979:17)*, for example, states that it is naive not to include multiple dimensions of stratification in social analysis and argues for a 'multiple hierarchy stratification model'. Applying Bengtson's (ibid.:24) hypothesis to education, many would agree that: to presume that ethnic differences are alone sufficient to understand the personal and social situation of students in Australian schools is to ignore the variations both across ethnic boundaries and within ethnic categories.

There can be no argument about the need for a more inclusive, interactive model of society. It is somewhat disturbing, however, that many people use such concepts as ethnicity, social class, religion and gender as if they all are of equal importance to each individual. Is Newman (1973: 287)* correct in his hypothesis that certain facets of identity are integrative or overarching, that is, that they determine the way roles are

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Bengtson, Vern L. Ethnicity and Aging: Problems and Issues in Current Social Science Inquiry. In D.E. Gelfand & Kutzik, A.J. (eds.), *Ethnicity and Aging: Theory, Research and Policy.* New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1979.

Newman, W.M. *American Pluralism.* New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

enacted and the attitudes adopted in the less dominant roles? He suggests that ethnicity is in this category. Is social class of the same order? It may well be, or it may even command a greater influence (particularly in educational terms) than does ethnicity. If this is so, there is a need for researchers to demonstrate it. The contributions from the two Alf Sampson Leadership Institutes do not directly address these questions, but the emphasis on social class in many papers highlights the fact that this is a direction which may assume some prominence in future debates, and for this reason it seems important to draw attention to it.

Participants at the First Institute felt sufficiently enthusiastic about the progress made that they elected to pursue certain key issues in more depth and to adopt a workshop format, rather than break new ground, at the Second Institute. The organisers complied with this request and the small group workshops in November concentrated on five areas which had been identified as crucial by those who attended the Ballarat Institute. Reports of the discussions on these five areas are contained in Part V of this volume.

Consensus was neither sought nor reached. The Institutes will primarily be judged by their contribution to the argument for, as David Francis states in his paper on Commonwealth Initiatives, the debate will continue as it properly should. For those who believe that multicultural education can help in the development of a cohesive society in which differences are accommodated, it is perhaps even more imperative in times of scarce financial resources that each particular of policy should be conceptualised clearly and argued logically. It is also imperative that all areas of multicultural education should be viewed, not as disparate entities but as a mosaic, for decisions regarding one aspect have substantial implications for other areas.

The Australian College of Education hopes that, by publishing the proceedings of the two Alf Sampson Leadership Institutes and thus enabling a much wider audience to share the experience of participants, it has contributed to the clarification of the debate as well as providing help for those who seek strategies in their own particular situations.

Joy Harris.

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PART I
Introduction

Two papers were presented at the short first session at the Ballarat Institute. They set the scene for the more specific issues and perspectives in the three sessions which followed.

The first question posed was:

> What is the ethnic mix of the Australian population, and how is it distributed?

A comprehensive demographic analysis of the ethnic composition of the Australian population, the age structure and geographical distribution of particular groups, and changes over time, was provided by Charles Price. This paper was revised in March 1983 to incorporate statistics from the 1981 Census, and it is this version that appears in this set of readings.

Price writes:

> It is a pity that there are not more reliable statistics available and it is greatly to be hoped that the *1986 census will have a question on ethnic origin or identification* . . . It would certainly solve many Australian problems and arguments if we had better information — and perhaps give an indication of the true extent of Australian pluralism.

The second paper, by George Smolicz addressed the question:

> What type of pluralism do we have in Australia, and what kind of society can we expect in the future?

It is instructive to compare Smolicz's views with the very different stances adopted by Bullivant and Themal. In an Appendix to his paper Smolicz quotes research findings which demonstrate that a substantial proportion of Australians, from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, 'favoured educational measures that enabled the teaching of ethnic minority languages to students'.

There were no workshop discussions in the first session.

Multicultural Australia: Demographic Background*

Charles A. Price

INTRODUCTION :
TABLE 1 : Australian Population by Birthplace (with sex ratios): Census 1981, Adjusted
2 : Australian Population by Birthplace and Age: Estimate 1981
3 : Australian Young People of Foreign Birth or Foreign Parentage: Estimate 1981
4 : Australian Population: Racial Composition (estimates 1981 and 1983)
5 : Australian Population by Birthplace and Ethnic Origin: 1st and 2nd Generations (estimate 1978)
6 : Ethnic Origins of Australian Population: 1861-1978 (%'s)
7a : Principal Languages in Australia: 1976 Census: Aged 5+
7b : Australia 1976: Language by Age
8 : Australian Population by Birthplace and Region of Residence: Estimate 1981 (in thousands)

Introduction

I have been asked to give some demographic background for this conference on multicultural education in Australia. Personally, I have difficulties with the term 'multicultural' — partly because the way many people use it suggests that Australia was not multicultural before World War II, and partly because there are different and sometimes confused views about the relationship between the independence of ethnic cultures and that basic social and political integration without which a nation cannot survive; as instance the present troubles in Canada.

I also have difficulties with the way some use the term 'ethnic'. I use it in its original sense of 'peoples' and count the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh just as much ethnics as anyone else; to me this is better than the slightly invidious and potentially degrading way some use the term. Whatever our views on these terms, however, the background statistical material which follows is very relevant to the general thrust of this conference.

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* Revised March 1983

Table 1 gives estimates we have recently made of the Australian population by birthplace at mid 1981; they come by taking the birthplace statistics of the 1981 census and raising them differentially to allow for census undercount. The sex ratios — females per one hundred males — show that though amongst the foreign-born generally there are fewer females than males (which is usual for immigrant populations) some groups have a real shortage of women (Czechs, Hungarians) while some have a big surplus of women; the Philippines, for instance, have sent many women to Australia as wives and servants.

The Table also shows that the foreign-born population of some 3.09 million is just over twenty per cent of the total population and that, apart from an increase in settlers from western Asia (mainly Lebanese since the fighting of 1976) and from south-eastern Asia (mainly Indochinese refugees), there has been only a slow shift from the position of 1976 and earlier years. Though slow, however, it is appreciable, the southern European element being less prominent than in 1971 and the eastern European element much less prominent than in 1961. The Table also shows that some nations of great importance to Australia in political and economic terms — notably Japan — are not strongly represented in terms of settlers; though Japan is very high in terms of short-term tourist and business migration, about 45,000 a year, there were only 8,300 or so Japanese in Australia at mid 1981, less than half being settlers.

Table 2 breaks the estimate of Table 1 by age, showing which birthplace groups are concentrating in which ages. The old refugee groups from eastern Europe are now concentrating in the age groups fifty and over and Italians and Greeks are beginning to do the same.

Groups arrived more recently — Lebanese, Turks and Indochinese are much more in the middle-working and school ages. This all highlights the fact that, because newly arrived groups are less well established in economic resources and social institutions, and therefore less able to look after their own welfare needs, some major problems of social welfare exist in these newer groups. Newer groups are likewise less able to establish strong institutions fostering the ethnic language and culture.

Table 3, compiled by Patricia Pyne, concentrates on the children — both foreign-born and Australian-born — in the age groups 0-4, 5-9, 10-14; these statistics can be useful to the teaching profession. The foreign-born totals come from the 1981 census statistics, raised to allow for census undercount. The Australian-born children are estimated from the annual statistics of births in Australia to foreign-born mothers, the numbers being reduced by applying estimated death and emigration rates.

Here again we see the effects of time. The children of eastern European refugee settlers, whether the children be born in Australia or overseas, are fewer in the 5-9 group than 10-14 and fewer again in the 0-4 group. In other words the need for Latvian, Hungarian, Russian and similar groups to have their ethnic languages taught in schools has diminished

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considerably in recent years and, unless the second generation show signs of wanting the schooling system to provide ethnic languages for the third generation, will probably die away except amongst a few strong nationalists. Yugoslavs are in a somewhat different position as their migration is more recent, though even here there are fewer children in the 0-4 group than in the 5-9. The Poles are also in a different position: a steady increase of refugee migration in the 1980s may result in an increase of Polish children, Australian-born and overseas-born.

Southern European children — except for Cypriots — are also declining in numbers but other groups are increasing. It is interesting to see how, though the number of overseas-born Lebanese and Indochinese are declining in the 0-4 group, the Australian-born 0-4 element is increasing rapidly. It will be interesting to see whether the movement of these Indochinese children up through the schooling system will result in a strong demand for the teaching of Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean in schools; the Lebanese are in a somewhat different position in that they can ally themselves to the rest of the Arabic speaking world in pushing for Arabic teaching.

Table 8, at the end, gives some clue as to where the foreign-born population of 1981 was clustered in terms of settlement — the statistics are given to the nearest thousand.

Later, when more 1981 census material is available, we will redo this table to allow for the fact that the 1981 census total, even when raised for census undercount, was some sixty thousand persons less than the total projected from the 1976 census; mainly because the undercount factor for 1976 was too large and the projected total correspondingly inflated. But sixty thousand when spread between all the birthplaces, states and capital cities, is not a vast number, and affects mainly the Australian-born and U.K. populations. Accordingly we can use the statistics of Table 8 as a reasonable indicator of where the main immigrant groups are settled.

In 1981 Sydney and Melbourne were still the main centres, though Adelaide, Perth, Geelong and Wollongong were also important. As in earlier years, and as in other countries of settlement, most groups were not evenly spread: though Turks were more or less equally spread between Sydney and Melbourne, the Lebanese — and other west Asian or Arabic speakers — were much more concentrated in Sydney; so also with the Indochinese. Likewise, though Yugoslavs were equally spread, the Italians and Greeks were much more concentrated in Melbourne. The ethnic character of Australia's two main cities, therefore, has been steadily becoming more and more different. This is reflected on a smaller scale in other larger towns.

The Table does not give any estimates for the local clusters within the main metropolitan areas. One needs complex material for this. Others at this conference will know the position in some areas even more reliably than the 1981 statistics.

Assessment

So far we have been dealing with simple statistics of birthplace. This is probably the best available approximation we have to ethnic and cultural affiliation but it is by no means always reliable, as instance all the persons of English descent born in India, or of Dutch descent born in Indonesia, of Greek descent born in Egypt or of Chinese descent born in Malaysia. I have therefore given a few additional tables to clarify the ethnic or multicultural situation a little further.

Table 4 gives the 1976 census statistics, projected to 1981, of races and birthplace: it shows that sixty seven per cent of Australians born in South Asia were of Chinese stock, twenty two per cent of those born in Fiji were of Indian origin, five per cent of those born in New Zealand were Maoris, and so on. It also gives a clue to the numbers in Australia's older racial groups, not only the Aborigines but the descendants of the South Sea Islanders (Kanakas).

Table 7 gives another ethnic or cultural dimension, that of language. It is not completely satisfactory as the language question in 1976 had some anomalies as well as over half a million persons who did not answer it. But it does give some clue to the language position in 1976. Table 7a gives the main language groups in total, with the number of Australian-born involved, while 7b gives the same information by age. It is particularly interesting to see the age-groups of those not speaking any English.

Many languages do not appear separately in these Tables — they are grouped in *Language same as Birthplace* or *Other.* We may later do all the complex work of working out how many persons born in Germany are really Latvian or how many born in Yugoslavia are Hungarians and publish a much more detailed table; and also the retention of the ethnic language by the second generation; at the moment we work with main languages only. (As there was no equivalent language question in 1981 we will have to wait until the 1986 census for more up-to-date information.)

In *Table 5* I have tried to use race and language, and also religion and other information, to rearrange the birthplace statistics into ethnic statistics — i.e. putting Cypriots speaking Greek and of Orthodox faith into the Greek ethnic population and those of Muslim faith and speaking language *Other* into the Turkish. This procedure also helps with many other groups — e.g. Russians born in China and Greeks in Egypt; also with the Slovenes, Serbs, Croats and Macedonians of Yugoslavia. Other information enables us to transfer Polish, Latvian and other east European children born in Germany to their parental ethnic group, and so on; and helps us to estimate the numbers of Armenians, Assyrians and other small groups lacking any national country of birth. The result of all these adjustments gives the first and second generation by ethnic origin, see Table 5, and can be a helpful guide to the multicultural scene.

(This, and other relevant tables, is published in *Australian Immigration: A Bibliography & Digest, No.4,* (edited Charles Price), 1979 and *Supplement to No.4,* 1981, Australian National University.)

Table 6 gives a glimpse of the ethnic picture when the third and later generations are put into their ancestral ethnic groups. Though rough it does give some clue to the total picture, particularly the numerical dominance of the English — but also how important have been the Irish, quite a small group in post-war immigrant terms, but very important in historical terms — especially in providing all the surplus women to marry the extra men of other immigrant streams.

It also gives an estimate of the relative size of the various ethnic groups — usually the figures are much smaller than estimates given by some ethnic leaders. For instance, the two hundred thousand given by some Macedonian leaders comes down to twenty five thousand in the tables, the one million Italians down to about six hundred thousand and so on. This is partly because the tables divide children of mixed origin between their ancestral ethnic streams whereas some ethnic leaders count everyone, even if only one-quarter or one-eighth, as full members of their ethnic group. But it is also because there is a natural tendency to increase the numbers of one's own group — after all it is important in terms of ethnic radio and other services.

It is a pity there are not more reliable statistics available and it is greatly to be hoped that the *1986 census will have a question on ethnic origin or identification.* Even if only half the population answered, it would be well worthwhile having reliable information on the groups who do answer; and, in the American experience, it is the persons for whom ethnicity is important that answer the question most carefully. It would certainly solve many Australian problems and arguments if we had better information — and perhaps give an indication of the true extent of Australian multiculturalism.

TABLE 1: AUSTRALIAN POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE (With Sex Ratios): CENSUS 1981, ADJUSTED

Birthplace		Nos	Birthplace		Nos	Birthplace		Nos	Birthplace		Nos	Birthplace		Nos
England	Nos	918250	Baltic	Nos	23500	Egypt	Nos	31550	India	Nos	42900	Fiji	Nos	9700
	S.R	97	States	S.R	89		S.R	95		S.R	99		S.R	102
Scotland	Nos	156300	Czecho-	Nos	16600	Lebanon	Nos	54600	Pakistan	Nos	3600	P.N.G.	Nos	19400
	S.R	99	slovakia	S.R	68	/Syria	S.R	86	/B'desh	S.R	86		S.R	103
Wales	Nos	24850	Hungary	Nos	28700	Turkey	Nos	25000	Sri Lanka	Nos	17450	O.Pacific	Nos	10150
	S.R	91		S.R	77		S.R	89		S.R	101		S.R	110
Ireland	Nos	69800	Poland	Nos	60950	Israel	Nos	6300	**S.ASIA**	Nos	63950	**PACIFIC**	Nos	39250
	S.R	90		S.R	80		S.R	88		S.R	99		S.R	105
UK & EIRE	Nos	1169200	USSR/	Nos	28600	Other	Nos	9400	Canada	Nos	18250	**NEW**	Nos	183200
	S.R	96	Ukraine	S.R	106	W.Asia	S.R	87		S.R	100	**ZEALAND**	S.R	96
Scandi-	Nos	15700	Yugoslavia	Nos	153600	**W.ASIA**	Nos	126850	U.S.A.	Nos	33700	**TOTAL**		
navia	S.R	69		S.R	83		S.R	89		S.R	85	**O'SEAS**	Nos	3096450
												BORN	S.R	93
Finland	Nos	9800	O/East	Nos	7750	China	Nos	27550	B.W.I.	Nos	2850			
	S.R	93		S.R	69		S.R	100		S.R	100			
Germany	Nos	113950	**EAST**	Nos	319700	Hong	Nos	16300	Argentina	Nos	8300	Australia	Nos	11758411
	S.R	100	**EUROPE**	S.R	83	Kong	S.R	93		S.R	100		S.R	102
Nether-	Nos	98800	Italy	Nos	283300	Singapore	Nos	12350	Chile	Nos	14400			
lands	S.R	85		S.R	84		S.R	108		S.R	102			
Austria	Nos	23450	Greece	Nos	150550	Japan	Nos	8300	Uruguay	Nos	9550	**GRAND**	Nos	14854861
	S.R	84		S.R	94		S.R	108		S.R	103	**TOTAL**	S.R	100
France	Nos	13800	Cyprus	Nos	24050	Malaysia	Nos	32700	Other	Nos	12150			
	S.R	97		S.R	94		S.R	97	Lat. Amer.	S.R	107			
Other	Nos	12900	Malta	Nos	58700	Indonesia	Nos	12900	**AMERICAS**	Nos	99200			
North	S.R	83		S.R	85		S.R	88		S.R	96			
N. EUROPE	Nos	288400	Spain	Nos	15650	Philipp-	Nos	15950	S. Africa	Nos	27800			
	S.R	90		S.R	82	ines	S.R	185		S.R	106			
			Portugal	Nos	12100	Indo	Nos	51700	Mauritius	Nos	10800			
				S.R	89	China	S.R	85		S.R	103			
			Other	Nos	2200	Other	Nos	20900	Other	Nos	22900			
			South	S.R	56	Asia	S.R	107	Africa	S.R	88			
			SOUTH	Nos	546550	**E/SE**	Nos	198650	**AFRICA**	Nos	61500			
			EUROPE	S.R	87	**ASIA**	S.R	100		S.R	99			

NOTES:
1) Sex Ratio (S.R) is females per 100 males.
2) The census figs. have been adjusted, differentially for age & birth-place, to allow for census undercount.

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TABLE 2: AUSTRALIAN POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE AND AGE: ESTIMATE 1981

Birthplace	0-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	Total
British Isles	74355	82850	174685	231234	179922	228207	197917	1169170
Germany	3877	3574	11393	36596	22178	27465	8893	113976
Netherlands	2425	1946	12510	28154	18986	25030	9753	98804
Other North Europe	5503	4499	11389	19151	13629	14239	7220	75630
TOTAL North Europe	11805	10019	35292	83901	54793	66734	25866	288410
Hungary	279	168	2046	4330	6849	9980	5048	28700
Poland	764	498	4673	5995	6494	29361	13176	60961
Yugoslavia	8953	9532	25383	38073	38400	24744	8539	153624
Other East Europe	2027	1124	3064	8601	9914	32776	18898	76404
TOTAL East Europe	12023	11322	35166	56999	61657	96861	45661	319689
Italy	4735	8416	31226	58024	71188	77901	31818	283308
Greece	3950	5132	19422	39006	45724	27213	10082	150529
Cyprus	2056	1675	4618	5822	3968	4598	1290	24027
Malta	1419	1667	10892	18807	12139	10089	3688	58701
Other South Europe	2917	2197	5229	7193	6402	4670	1344	29952
TOTAL South Europe	15077	19087	71387	128852	139421	124471	48222	546517
Egypt	805	1203	4494	7785	6244	7811	3188	31530
Lebanon & Syria	7167	5727	14607	12993	7156	5274	1686	54610
Turkey	4366	2982	4587	5933	3577	1932	1622	24999
Other W. Asia	1773	1300	3592	3876	2307	1760	1099	15707
TOTAL W. Asia & Egypt	14111	11212	27280	30587	19284	16777	7595	126846
South Asia[1]	5054	4259	11254	15382	10456	11259	6273	63937
China, etc.[2]	6637	3377	11756	12359	8554	8844	4700	56227
Japan	1543	452	1441	2502	1332	886	123	8279
Mal., Phil., Indonesia	9614	5597	17786	15374	6591	4979	1593	61534
Indochina	15153	6369	17202	7900	2833	1769	496	51722
Other Asia	3752	2161	4748	3932	2934	2335	1022	20884
TOTAL	41753	22215	64187	57449	32700	30072	14207	262583

Continued . . .

TABLE 2 Continued: AUSTRALIAN POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE AND AGE: ESTIMATE 1981

Birthplace	0-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	Total
South Africa	5917	1988	4789	6023	3435	2810	2832	27794
Mauritius	755	1204	2727	2505	1568	1440	602	10801
Other Africa	3269	2428	6799	4988	2639	2048	730	22901
TOTAL Africa	9941	5620	14315	13516	7642	6298	4164	61496
Canada, USA, BWI[3]	10525	4777	11309	12706	5612	6745	3142	54816
Latin America	9285	4399	7663	12631	6017	3040	1362	44397
TOTAL Americas	19810	9176	18972	25337	11629	9785	4504	99213
New Zealand	32949	13389	54877	36795	16594	15805	12784	183193
Other Pacific	11174	5067	10383	5641	3081	2290	1629	39265
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	242998	189957	506544	670311	526723	597300	362549	3096382
Australia	3472586	1106505	2013791	1530294	1031211	1515395	1088697	11758479
GRAND TOTAL	3715584	1296462	2520335	2200605	1557934	2112695	1451246	14854861

NOTES:
1. South Asia = India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka
2. China, etc. = China, Hong Kong, Singapore
3. BWI = British West Indies

Based on 19[illegible] census figures with Not Stated birthplaces distributed and each total raised to allow for an average census undercount factor of two per cent

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TABLE 3: AUSTRALIAN YOUNG PEOPLE OF FOREIGN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE: ESTIMATE 1981

Birthplace	0-4 Years Old			5-9 Years Old			10-14 Years Old		
	F/b*	A/b**	Total	F/b	A/b	Total	F/b	A/b	Total
British Isles	8757	81077	89834	19421	91592	111013	47571	83702	131273
Germany	542	9614	10156	1097	14138	15235	2324	15077	17401
Netherlands	508	9744	10252	821	13621	14442	1177	15844	17021
Other North West	868	5588	6456	1588	6359	7947	3185	5603	8788
TOTAL North West Europe	1918	24946	26864	3506	34118	37624	6686	36524	43210
Hungary	59	1223	1282	90	1627	1717	139	1891	2030
Poland	212	1732	1944	291	2125	2416	295	2948	3243
Yugoslavia	618	16612	17230	1472	21804	23276	6961	12886	19847
Other East Europe	301	1608	1909	786	2670	3456	988	3473	4461
TOTAL East Europe	1190	21175	22365	2639	28226	30865	8383	21198	29581
Italy	428	22832	23260	1052	35897	36949	3323	47480	50803
Greece	470	16529	16999	865	29380	30245	2690	37416	40106
Cyprus	108	3414	3522	744	2502	3246	1221	2014	3235
Malta	289	8393	8682	445	10433	10878	731	10861	11592
Other South Europe	420	2679	3099	793	3328	4121	1771	2778	4549
TOTAL South Europe	1715	53847	55562	3899	81540	85439	9736	100549	110285
Egypt	90	3395	3485	136	3607	3743	593	2892	3485
Lebanon & Syria	415	14102	14517	2369	9206	11575	4449	4311	8760
Turkey	303	3128	3431	1019	2195	3214	3092	567	3659
Other W. Asia	426	1715	2141	539	1224	1763	876	738	1614
TOTAL W. Asia	1234	22340	23574	4063	16232	20295	9010	8508	17518
South Asia[1]	687	5703	6390	1359	5075	6434	3117	3125	6242
China etc.[2]	981	5245	6226	2796	3921	6717	3016	3298	6314
Japan	482	763	1245	653	536	1189	485	345	830
Mal., Phil., Indonesia	2537	6774	9311	3497	2987	6484	3984	1796	5780
Indochina	3624	2189	5813	6701	240	6941	5405	47	5452
Other Asia	867	1610	2477	1269	844	2113	1754	484	2238
TOTAL Non Western Asia	9178	22284	31462	16275	13603	29878	17761	9095	26856

Continued . . .

TABLE 3 Continued: AUSTRALIAN YOUNG PEOPLE OF FOREIGN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE: ESTIMATE 1981

Birthplace	0-4 Years Old			5-9 Years Old			10-14 Years Old		
	F/b*	A/b**	Total	F/b	A/b	Total	F/b	A/b	Total
South Africa	1126	1714	2840	2416	1185	3601	2554	802	3356
Mauritius	70	1095	1165	137	901	1038	559	602	1161
Other Africa	471	2360	2831	1112	1924	3036	1761	999	2760
TOTAL Africa	1667	5169	6836	3665	4010	7675	4874	2403	7277
Canada, USA, BWI[3]	2291	4864	7155	3629	3759	7388	4970	2336	7306
Latin America	891	4459	5350	3420	2847	6267	5116	417	5533
TOTAL America	3182	9323	12505	7049	6606	13655	10086	2753	12839
New Zealand	8591	12158	20749	12648	9593	22241	13077	7072	20149
Other Pacific	1527	3931	5458	4434	2244	6678	5456	1291	6747
TOTAL FOREIGN[4]	38959	256250	295209	77599	287764	365363	132640	273095	405735
Australia[5]	–	845423	845423	–	902094	902094	–	907960	907960
GRAND TOTAL	38959	1101673	1140632	77599	1189858	1267457	132640	1181055	1313695

NOTES:
* F/b = foreign-born
** A/b = Australian-born
1. South Asia = India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan
2. China etc = China, Hong Kong, Singapore
3. BWI = British West Indies
4. Total foreign = persons of foreign birth or foreign parentage (parentage = birthplace of mother)
5. Australia = 3rd, 4th and later generations

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TABLE 4: AUSTRALIAN POPULATION: RACIAL COMPOSITION (estimates for 1981 & 1983)

Birthplace: Race:	European		Aborigines		Torres St. Is.		Pacific Is.		Chinese		Other		Total	
	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%
UK & EIRE	1423100	99.4					14		215	.02	7972	.56	1431301	100.00
EUROPE	1134567	99.7							159	.01	3277	.29	1138003	"
Egypt	24215	78.0							17	.06	6821	22.0	31053	"
Lebanon-Syria	26314	49.2							1		27189	50.8	53504	"
Turkey	19910	81.0									4676	19.0	24586	"
Other	8671	56.2									6749	43.8	15420	"
WESTERN ASIA	79110	63.5							18	.01	45435	36.5	124563	"
South Asia	42159	67.0					55	.09	345	.55	20344	32.3	62903	"
China (+H.K.,Sing)	24693	44.8							22204	40.27	8237	14.9	55134	"
Other East Asia	2063	16.4							81	.65	10442	83.0	12586	"
Indonesia	8248	65.3					14	.11	1253	9.9	3111	24.6	12626	"
Malaysia	12571	39.3					15	.05	11987	37.5	7394	23.1	31967	"
Philippines	4347	27.8					34	.22	252	1.6	10992	70.4	15625	"
Indochina	2022	4.0							10617	21.0	37916	75.0	50555	"
Other S.E. Asia	6663	41.6					38	.24	1633	10.2	7667	47.9	16001	"
SOUTH & EAST ASIA	102766	39.9					156	.06	48372	18.8	106103	41.2	257397	"
Canada	17543	98.1							41	.23	299	1.7	17883	"
U.S.A.	32176	97.4					27	.08	54	.16	790	2.4	33047	"
B.W.I.	2422	87.7							24	.85	316	11.4	2762	"
Latin America	32571	74.7					3	.01	6	.01	11021	25.3	43601	"
AMERICAS	84712	87.1					30	.03	125	.13	12426	12.8	97293	"
Mauritius	8010	75.5							100	.94	2500	23.6	10610	"
S. Africa	24811	90.9							44	.16	2429	8.9	27284	"
Other Africa	19043	85.0							14	.06	3347	14.9	22404	"
AFRICA	51864	86.0							158	.26	8276	13.7	60298	"

Continued . . .

TABLE 4 Continued: AUSTRALIAN POPULATION: RACIAL COMPOSITION (estimates for 1981 & 1983)

Birthplace: Race:	European		Aborigines		Torres St. Is.		Pacific Is.		Chinese		Other		Total	
	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%
Fiji	5023	52.9					1965	20.67	407	4.29	2107	22.2	9502	100.00
P.N.G.	14593	77.2	24	.13	161	.85	1556	8.24	1638	8.66	933	4.9	18905	"
Other Pacific	6476	65.2					2551	25.68	406	4.09	501	5.0	9934	"
PACIFIC	26092	68.1	24	.06	161	.42	6072	15.84	2451	6.39	3541	9.2	38341	"
NEW ZEALAND	168458	94.2					8942	5.00	261	.15	1175	.7	178836	"
Total Foreign-born	3070669	92.3	24		161		15214	.46	51759	1.56	188205	5.7	3326032	"
AUSTRALIA	11253062	97.6	155952	1.35	16476	.14	8000	.07	13644	.12	81695	.7	11528829	"
GRAND TOTAL 1981	14323731	96.4	155976	1.05	16637	.11	23214	.16	65403	.44	269900	1.8	14854861	100.00
(Projected 1983	14702817	96.2	168111	1.10	17575	.12	25981	.17	70301	.46	298015	2.0	15282800	100.00)

NOTES: Birthplace totals for 1981 are from the 1981 census de facto (not de jure) totals, uplifted to allow for undercount. To these are applied the 1976 census race proportions to obtain estimated race sub-totals for 1981; except for Lebanon-Syria, Indochina and New Zealand where the estimated racial composition of net migration 1976-81 is thought to have changed the race proportions. The 1981 Australian-born proportions have also been changed from those of 1976 to allow for births in Australia to Lebanese, Indochinese and other recent immigrants. The figures for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are between those counted by the 1981 census (strongly defended by A.B.S.) and those projected from the 1976 numbers (strongly supported by several experts on Aborigines).

The 1983 race projection takes the race proportions shown above, modifies them slightly to allow for current migration and fertility trends, and applies them to the total population estimated for mid 1983.

Please remember that Australian race statistics, 1976, rest on the respondents' answers as coded by A.B.S.: hence anomalies arise when some Turks call themselves Caucasians and are coded as "Europeans" whereas others call themselves Turks and are coded as "Other"; likewise with Lebanese describing themselves as Arabs. For these and other reasons the race estimates are rough.

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TABLE 5: AUSTRALIAN POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE AND ETHNIC ORIGIN: 1ST & 2ND GENERATIONS (estimate 1978)

ORIGIN	I: Generation (foreign-born)		II: Generation (foreign parents)		Ethnic Origin of Is, IIs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
England	874523	31.2	669533	33.5	1646289	34.4
Scotland	152096	5.4	164630	8.2	338474	7.1
Ireland	67349	2.4	99990	5.0	178144	3.7
Wales	26065	.9	21043	1.1	51216	1.1
Channels, Man	2876	.1	2599	.1	6681	.1
Total Britain	1122909	40.0	957795	47.9	2220804	46.4
Italy	285336	10.2	243369	12.2	534705	11.1
Greece	153232	5.5	124242	6.2	314074	6.6
Cyprus	24490	.9	11103	.6	—	—
Malta	56837	2.0	50809	2.5	107546	2.2
Spain	14806	.5	7699	.4	23505	.5
Portugal	10802	.4	3580	.2	14382	.3
Albania	1357)	.1	1045	.1	3402	.1
Other South Europe	1548)		446	—	1394	
Total South Europe	548908	19.6	442293	22.2	999008	20.8
Estonia	5094	.2	2687	.1	8181	.2
Latvia	14686	.5	7110	.4	23396	.5
Lithuania	6655	.2	3792	.2	11347	.2
(Total Baltic)	(26435)	(.9)	(13589)	(.7)	(42924)	(.9)
Bulgaria	1821	.1	982	.1	2803	.1
Czech-	15319	.5	8286	.4	17285	.4
Slovakia					4320	.1
Hungary	27574	1.0	14481	.7	50755	1.1
Poland	57439	2.0	36187	1.8	103626	2.2
Rumania	4699	.2	2415	.1	7244	.1
Russia	14836	.5	8383	.3	30919	.6
Ukraine	12138	.5	5588	.2	19226	.4
Slovenia	147662	5.3	72739	3.7	9330	.2
Croatia					128776	2.7
Serbia etc.					64695	1.3
Macedonia					20100	.4
Total East Europe	307923	11.0	162650	8.2	502003	10.5
Egypt	30738	1.1	14316	.7	12854	.3
Turkey	20458	.7	4585	.2	23493	.5
Lebanon-Syria	50645	1.8	29670	1.5	72015	1.5
Palestine	5773	.2	2525	.1	8298	.2
Other West Asia	7536	.3	1258	.1	3294	.1
Armenians	—	—	—	—	12200	.2
Assyrians	—	—	—	—	6700	.1
Total West Asia	115150	4.1	52354	2.6	138854	2.9
Afghanistan	49		58		407	
India	38501	1.3	16286	.8	20011	.4
Pakistan	2036	.1	513)	.1	2000)	.1
Bangladesh	601	—	152)		540)	
Sri Lanka	16190	.6	3949	.2	10015	.2
Total South Asia	57377	2.0	20958	1.1	32973	.7
Burma	7010	.2	1770	.1	3900	.1
Thailand	2154	.1	452		2206	.1
Indo-China	11896	.4	1850	.1	8400	.2
Malaysia	21142	.8	5067	.3	8000	.2
Indonesia	10856	.4	5017	.3	5500	.1
Philippines	8673	.3	1749	.1	6500	.1
Timor (East)	2182	.1	320		1250	
Total S.E. Asia	63913	2.3	16225	.8	35756	.8
China (Inc.H.K.Sing)	43672	1.5	17968	.9	34000	.7
Japan	7069	.3	1854	.1	5000	.1
Korea	3294	.1	481		3000	.1
Total East Asia	54035	1.9	20303	1.0	42000	.9
Other Asia	2232	.1	230	—	700	—

Continued . . .

TABLE 5 (Continued): AUSTRALIAN POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE AND ETHNIC ORIGIN: 1ST & 2ND GENERATIONS (estimate 1978)

ORIGIN	I: Generation (foreign-born)		II: Generation (foreign parents)		Ethnic Origin of Is, IIs		ORIGIN	I: Generation (foreign-born)		II: Generation (foreign parents)		Ethnic Origin of Is. IIs.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Denmark	9118	.3	6661	.3	15779	.3	U.S.A.	28907	1.0	13899	.7	43506	.9
Norway	2667	.1	3596	.2	6263	.1	Canada	13819	.5	7510	.4	21229	.4
Sweden	4097	.2	4481	.2	8578	.2	Latin America	38131	1.4	5966	.3	43897	.9
Finland	9400	.3	3479	.2	12879	.3	British West Indies	2995	.1	897		2892	.1
(Scandinavia)	(25282)	(.9)	(18217)	(.9)	(43499)	(.9)	Total Americas	83852	3.0	28272	1.4	111524	2.3
Austria	23692	.8	13492	.7	37184	.8							
Germany	110607	3.9	83742	4.2	181919	3.8	P.N.G.	9172	.4	2610	.1	1600	
Netherlands	92565	3.3	82647	4.2	181812	3.8	Fiji	6130	.2	3154	.2	1400	
France	11854	.4	6450	.3	33404	.7	Other Pacific	6261	.2	3075	.2	2000	
Belgium	3890	.1	2139	.1	6029	.1	Total Pacific	21563	.8	8839	.5	5000	0.1
Switzerland	6868	.3	4313	.2	11181	.2							
Other North Europe	4375	.2	456	—	4531	.1	New Zealand	105365	3.7	59837	3.0	165202	3.4
Total North Europe	279133	9.9	211456	10.6	499559	10.4				(Maori 5300)			
Mauritius	10218	.4	2623	.1	9841	.2	Foreign Born	2806646	100.0	1995914	100.0	4792560	100.0
South Africa	18280	.6	7756	.4	19836	[illegible]							
Other Africa	15788	.6	4323	.2	9500	.2	(Australia)	11313937		9318023		9328023	
Total Africa	44286	1.6	14702	.7	39177	.8							
							Aborigines	142495		142495		142495	
							TOTAL	14263078		14263078		14263078	

NOTES: I generation here means persons born abroad, except persons born abroad of Australian-born parents; these are counted as 3rd or later generation Australians and included in the Australian-born total. The estimates come from the 1976 census statistics of birthplace and parentage taken to 1978 by net migration and mortality statistics by birthplace. II generation here means Australian-born persons of foreign-born parentage, the paternal and maternal lines being averaged; the estimates derive from statistics of birth by birthplace of parents, and the 1976 parentage statistics, taken to 1978 by adjusting for mortality and net migration. The Ethnic Origin column comes by adding the I and II columns and then adjusting for such anomalies as Greeks or Italians born in Egypt, Russians born in China, Greeks born in Turkey or Cyprus, Britons born in India or Hong Kong, Polish or other Displaced Persons children born in German camps, Germans born in Czechoslovakia, Slav-Macedonians born in Greece, Hungarians born in Yugoslavia, etc. The Czech-Slovak breakdown, and Slovene, Serb, Croat, Macedonian breakdown, come from census information on religion and language. The Armenian and Assyrian totals are direct estimates. Jews have not here been estimated but are in their countries of birth.

TABLE 6: ETHNIC ORIGINS OF AUSTRALIAN POPULATION[1]: 1861-1978 (%'s)

	1861[2]	1891[2]	1947	1978
English	48.999	48.791	51.273	45.83
Scottish	14.277	13.990	14.806	12.37
Irish	25.494	25.684	22.975	17.90
Welsh	1.447	1.539	1.590	1.41
Channels, etc.	.232	.272	.265	.22
Total British	90.449	90.276	90.909	77.73
Italian	.075	.212	.943	4.21
Greek	.040	.065	.302	2.37
Maltese	.005	.007	.087	.83
Spanish	.049	.110	.131	.55
Portuguese	.020	.027	.024	.14
Albanian	—	.002	.023	.03
Other South	—	.002	.004	.01
Total Sth Europe	.189	.425	1.514	8.14
Estonian	.001	.002	.017	.06
Latvian	.005	.014	.023	.18
Lithuanian	.005	.018	.023	.10
(Total Baltic)	(.011)	(.034)	(.063)	(.34)
Bulgarian	.002	.003	.011	.02
Czechoslovak	.010	.023	.043	.18
Hungarian	.010	.017	.036	.39
Polish	.133	.241	.320	.96
Rumanian	.005	.018	.025	.07
Russian, Ukraine	.030	.080	.202	.48
Serb, Croat, Slovene	.020	.084	.202	1.57
Macedonian	—	.001	.032	.15
Total East Europe	.221	.501	.934	4.16

	1861	1891	1947	1978
Egyptian	.001	.001	.003	.09
Turk	.001	.002	.003	.18
Lebanese-Syrian	.005	.094	.119	.61
Other West Asia[3]	.001	.003	.005	.04
Armenian	.001	.001	.005	.09
Assyrian	—	—	—	.05
Total West Asian	.009	.101	.135	1.06
Afghan	.002	.017	.014	.01
Indian	.150	.251	.079	.18
Pakistani	.010	.037	.011	.02
Bangladeshi	.002	.002	.002	
Sri Lankan	.008	.032	.010	.07
Total Sth Asian	.172	.339	.116	.28
Burmese	—	—	.001	.03
Thai	—	—	.001	.02
Indo-Chinese	—	—	.001	.06
Malay	.004	.013	.016	.07
Indonesian	.002	.008	.006	.04
Filipino	.002	.012	.006	.04
E. Timorese	.001	.001	.003	.01
Total SE Asia	.009	.034	.034	.27
Chinese	3.280	1.649	.225	.28
Japanese	.001	.020	.008	.04
Korean	—	—	.001	.02
Other Asian	—	—	—	.01
Total	3.281	1.669	.234	.35

Continued . . .

TABLE 6 Continued: ETHNIC ORIGINS OF AUSTRALIAN POPULATION[1]: 1861-1978 (%'s)

	1861[2]	1891[2]	1947	1978
Danish	.284	.468	.415	.42
Norwegian	.085	.217	.220	.17
Swedish	.198	.411	.401	.30
Finnish	.020	.036	.056	.13
(Scandinavian)	(.587)	(1.132)	(1.092)	(1.02)
Austrian	.020	.047	.109	.31
German	4.317	4.353	3.967	4.11
Dutch	.129	.124	.218	1.55
French	.395	.437	.420	.48
Belgian	.030	.038	.041	.07
Swiss	.117	.147	.146	.17
Other North	.006	.030	.025	.05
Total Nth. Europe	5.601	6.308	6.018	7.76

	1861	1891	1947	1978
African	.023	.029	.021	.09
American	.003	.004	.014	.04
Pacific Islander	.043	.314	.071	.12
Total	.069	.347	.106	.25
Total Immigrant[4]	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Immigrant[4]	86.649	96.611	99.230	99.000
Aborigine, TSI	13.351	3.389	.770	1.00
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
(Numbers[5] 000s)	1348.1	3279.5	7709.4	14263.1
European	83.581	94.206	98.610	96.71
Non-European	16.419	5.794	1.390	3.29

NOTES:

1. Australian born descendants, and persons born in the Americas, Asia, Africa and Oceania, are distributed between ancestral ethnic groups. Jewish persons are in ancestral countries of birth. Descent calculated by averaging paternal and maternal lines of descent — ethnicity estimated from birthplace origins.
2. Birthplaces not shown in 1861 and 1891 censuses have been extracted from 'Other Asia' and similar categories by using details on naturalisation records.
3. Western Asia includes Asia west of Afghanistan and south of USSR.
4. Immigrant here means peoples settling since 1788; Aborigines are earlier immigrants.
5. Totals for 1861, 1891 and 1947 differ from published census totals as they include estimates for Aborigines.

TABLE 7a: PRINCIPAL LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA: 1976 CENSUS: AGED 5+ (1)

Language	With No English	With English	Persons (main speakers	Extra Speakers	Born in Australia
Aborigine	4906	21864	26770	?	27274
Arabic	3411	25821	29232	5381	3137
Chinese	4126	24650	28776	1126	3893
Dutch	1703	61853	63556	1211	8464
French	1483	44794	46277	34709	19838
German	3767	120859	124626	59280	33122
Greek	37013	217463	254476	7701	80760
Italian	53054	367753	420807	28714	140031
Macedonian	2845	13215	16060	633	4342
Polish	3081	55295	58376	4570	11114
Serbian, Croatian, Slovene	20684	84304	104988	?	21404 (e)
Spanish	6395	37173	43568	4776	3546
Ukrainian	1108	16822	17930	200	4376
Language same as birthplace[2]	18544	128702	147246	–	–
Other	9463	104646	114109	–	47589
Code 127[3] (excl. Not Stated)	12171	–	12171	–	2021
TOTAL	183754	1325214	1508968	–	410911
(Not Stated)			(544334)		(472057)

NOTES:

1. The statistics are based on 1976 census matrix tapes 23 and 38 and refer to persons aged 5 and over. This table excludes persons speaking English only.
2. Language same as birthplace excludes Australia as birthplace.
3. Code 127 covers odd combinations of languages, excluding English; Not Stated language are also excluded here.

(e) Estimate.

TABLE 7b: AUSTRALIA 1976: LANGUAGE BY AGE

Language	5 – 14		15 – 24		25 – 34		35 – 59		60+	
	No English	With English	No English	With English	No English	With English	No English	With English	No English	With English
Aborigine	1312	5978	815	5069	664	3572	1350	5412	766	1935
Arabic	514	5457	747	5362	874	7354	936	6837	340	811
Chinese	308	3386	446	6648	666	7006	1586	6293	1119	1318
Dutch	143	4819	212	9112	286	12218	534	28049	528	7655
French	289	10684	286	13325	307	8735	363	9751	237	2298
German	306	16417	406	19362	468	19244	1307	53588	1279	11978
Greek	3893	58798	3290	35657	7759	41026	16298	73038	5773	8944
Italian	3411	83484	2759	70725	6264	57274	25642	133439	14979	22831
Macedonian	235	2873	287	3110	584	2275	1139	4140	601	817
Polish	130	3689	274	7645	355	9357	1214	25064	1109	9539
Serb-Croat,Sl.	1781	13697	2742	13419	5656	20596	8536	32500	1969	4091
Spanish	976	8704	620	6381	2031	10525	2388	10897	380	665
Ukrainian	40	1321	89	2693	89	3213	477	7237	414	2358
Language same as birthplace	2311	17351	2382	20134	4518	30005	6512	54634	3489	17266
Other	1968	26902	1732	25102	1903	21431	2660	25046	1200	6165
Code 127 (f/b)	3175	–	8622	–	15439	–	29000	–	26193	–
TOTAL	20792	263560	25709	243744	47863	253831	99942	475925	60376	98671

NOTES See Table 7.a : Code 127 here includes Not Stated Language but excludes Australian born.

TABLE 8: AUSTRALIAN POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGION OF RESIDENCE: ESTIMATE 1981 (in thousands)

	NSW		VIC		QLD		STH. AUST.		WEST. AUST.		TAS-			
BIRTHPLACE	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	MANIA	N.T.	A.C.T.	TOTAL
British Isles	263	90	216	49	103	62	128	24	151	34	24	6	19	1168177
Germany	25	11	29	7	6	5	13	3	6	2	2	0.9	3	114219
Netherlands	17	8	22	10	6	4	9	2	9	2	3	0.6	2	94409
Other N.W. Europe	25	6	19	3	7	6	6	2	4	2	1	1.0	3	81717
Nth. West Europe	67	25	70	20	19	15	28	7	19	6	6	2.5	8	290345
Hungary	11	2	9	1.1	1.1	0.6	3	0.4	1.0	0.2	0.4		0.4	29401
Poland	14	4	22	3	3	1.0	7	0.9	3	1.4	1.5		0.9	61634
Yugoslavia	46	15	49	8	6	2	8	2	9	2	0.5	0.5	4	151383
Other East.Europe	24	4	19	3	5	2	8	0.9	4	2	1.6	0.4	2	76113
East Europe	95	25	99	15	15	6	26	4	17	5	4	0.9	7	318531
Italy	67	16	100	13	10	12	27	2	25	4	1.1	0.9	3	282957
Greece	47	5	70	3	3	1.4	12	2	4	0.5	0.8	1.2	2	151354
Cyprus	8	0.7	10	0.6	0.8	0.4	1.7	0.1	0.9	0.2		0.2	0.2	23813
Malta	22	2	27	1.3	0.8	1.4	2	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	58545
Other Sth.Europe	12	3	5	1.3	1.4	0.8	0.8	0.4	3	0.5				29243
South Europe	156	27	212	19	16	16	44	5	34	6	2	2	6	545912
Egypt	15	0.4	12	0.2	0.5	0.2	1.1	0.1	1.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	31348
Lebanon	40	1.1	9	0.2	0.6	0.3	1.2	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1		0.1	53329
Turkey	10	1.1	11	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.1			0.1	23732
Other W. Asia	10	0.4	5	0.2	0.8		0.2	0.1	1.2	0.1		0.1	0.1	16402
West Asia	75	3	37	1.2	2	0.6	3	0.4	3	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.5	124811
South Asia[1]	14	2	22	1.4	3	1.1	3	0.4	12	1.2	0.5	0.3	1.0	61533
China etc.[2]	23	3	10	1.2	4	2	2	0.3	4	0.9	0.6	0.5	1.2	53137
Japan	4	0.6	2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2		0.5	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.3	8424
Mal.Phil.Indo.	21	3	13	1.5	5	3	3	0.4	7	1.1	0.8	0.9	1.9	61091
Indochina	21	3	11	0.5	6	1.3	4	0.8	1.5	0.2	1.1	0.4	4	53376
Other Asia	5	0.6	4	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.6		7	0.6	0.1	0.9	0.5	20702
Total	88	12	61	5	19	7	12	1.8	32	4	3	3	8	258263

TABLE 8 (Continued): AUSTRALIAN POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGION OF RESIDENCE: ESTIMATE 1981 (in thousands)

	NSW		VIC		QLD		STH. AUST.		WEST. AUST.		TAS-			
BIRTHPLACE	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	Metro	Rest	MANIA	N.T.	A.C.T.	TOTAL
South Africa	9	1.6	6	0.9	1.8	1.3	1.7	0.3	3	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.5	27310
Mauritius	4		6						1.4					11512
Other Africa	5	1.0	5	0.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	0.2	3	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.4	19586
Total Africa	17	3	16	1.4	3	3	3	0.5	8	1.5	1.0	0.4	1.0	58408
Canada, USA, BWI[3]	16	4	9	2.5	5	5	3	1.2	5	2	1.1	1.2	1.9	57531
Latin America	26	2	10	0.5	1	0.6	1	0.3	1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.6	43681
Americas	42	6	19	3	6	6	4	1.5	6	2	1.4	1.5	3	101212
New Zealand	60	16	28	6	19	21	5	1.2	12	7	4	3	3	184300
Other Pacific	14	3	5	1.1	7	5	1.2	0.3	1.6	1.1	0.7	0.6	1.1	41264
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	876	210	762	121	208	141	254	45	282	66	47	21	56	3091223
Australian	2797	1367	2065	1010	882	1073	698	322	626	319	383	106	177	11825714
GRAND TOTAL	3673	1577	2827	1131	1090	1214	952	367	908	385	430	127	233	14916937

NOTES:
1. South Asia = India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan
2. China etc. = China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan
3. BWI = British West Indies

N.B. As the figures are heavily rounded they do not always add exactly, either horizontally or vertically

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Principles of Australian Pluralism

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Over the past three decades or more, debate in Australia over the 'accommodation' of 'new settlers' has oscillated between two opposite poles of possible outcomes. One has been labelled as that of assimilation, and the other has had various names given to it, such as 'integration', 'multiculturalism', 'poly-ethnicity' and 'pluralism'. Over the years, those working in the field are agreed that the policy of assimilation has proved either undesirable, or impracticable, or both. (If you remember, this involved an assumption that the new arrivals from non-English speaking countries should not only acquire English language and other cultural characteristics associated with the British way of life, but should also willingly abandon all those cultural traits that were 'foreign' to people of British stock in Australia.)

The alternative to assimilation is pluralism — but what kind of pluralism? And what of future developments?

Pluralism can take very different forms and hence analysis of this concept, and of its practical applications, whether in the labour market or in the classroom, seems particularly appropriate. (Smolicz, 1979, 1981). Perhaps it is best to start with some stark examples to illustrate the different meanings that pluralism can assume in different countries.

In Cyprus over the long years of British rule, a pluralist situation prevailed with respect to the two principal communities that lived on that island — the Greeks and the Turks. They existed in two separate compartments and, even in places where they were living in relatively close proximity, they remained poles apart in terms of their cultural and social lives. They differed in language, religion, social values and political aspirations. Their social contacts were limited to trade and commerce, with little other social interaction and practically no possibility for inter-marriage or other closer relationships. Thus in cultural and structural terms they exhibited a type of pluralism labelled as *separatism*, or 'external cultural pluralism', since pluralism on the island was exhibited by the two communities concerned (and a sprinkling of other minorities such as the Armenians, the Jews and a few British residents), but stopped short of individuals: indeed, it was 'external' to them, since individual Greeks and Turks living on the island were in the overwhelming majority of cases quite unfamiliar with the culture of the other group and did not participate in the other's social activities.

The bonds that held them together were supplied by British colonial rule (and before that by its Turkish predecessor), and once these were removed, the two communities had so little in common and there was such long-standing accumulation of antagonisms, that common economic interests were insufficient to hold them together. Under the influence of their own extremists and interference by interested neighbours, the bonds snapped and the union has for all practical purposes dissolved, leading to formal separation and even to transfer of populations from mixed areas to seal the division.

This is an extreme example of communal separatism, where individuals remain immersed in their own ways and lack a shared system of values, as well as any desire to interact socially and culturally at a personal level.

Separatism does not invariably fail, as is evident in Malaysia and Israel. In Malaysia, for example, the idea of being a Malay is linked officially to two core values, Islam and Malay language. Islam is the principal one. If a marriage partner from another community does not embrace Islam before marriage, marriage for a Malay is viewed as invalid. Alternatively, if such a marriage is entered into outside Malaysia, on return, the person concerned, and his or her children, lose their Malay identity (and their identity card as well!), since there is no legal conception of a non-Moslem Malay. In Malaysia ethnicity or race is a state matter, and everybody is formally classified as belonging to one of the officially recognised 'racial' categories.

In Israel civil marriage is not possible and Jewish religious authorities will not sanction a marriage between a Christian or a Moslem and a Jew. A marriage contracted abroad is valid in Israel, but if the wife is non-Jewish and has not converted to Judaism, her children will not count as Jewish by Israeli law. In Israel, as in Malaysia, ethnic differences (in that country officially labelled as those of 'religion') are a state, rather than a private matter, but while in Malaysia there are official 'races' (Malays, Chinese, Indian and 'other'), in Israel we have the Jews, the Moslems, the Christians and the Druzes. In both countries pluralism is, therefore, officially institutionalised at communal level by the recognition of the existence of more than one racial, ethnic or religious group, one of which is recognised as dominant. Thus in Malaysia, Malays formally provide the elected king, and even conversion to Islam does not make you a 'real Malay' or 'bumiputra'. As Clammer (1980: 85) observes,

> Even by becoming a Muslim and adopting a Malay mode of living, one cannot become a bumiputra and cannot therefore enter into 'real' Malaydom, and the political, social, and economic privileges now attendant upon being a bumiputra, unless one is born (or adopted at birth) into this politically defined and anthropologically vacuous category. The possibility of real assimilation into Malaydom is a chimera.

Clammer underlies the racial basis of privilege in Malaysia by adding that

> the bumiputra classification has great practical significance, since it confers access to education, credit, jobs, and other facilities.

Israel is legally a Jewish state, and while Arabs in Israel, whether Christians or Moslem, enjoy full Israeli citizenship, nevertheless they constitute a permanent minority in that country. The Arab minority is neither requested (nor expected) to participate in military service which is compulsory for all other citizens.

Australia is quite different. We do not have here a formal, state-supported definition of individuals based on their ethnicity, race or religion. Instead, all such variations, although they may exist in society, are not officially classified since they are of no relevance to one's citizenship or any of the rights that devolve from it. Nor do we have in Australia any formal definition of a 'master race', or of a 'ruling ethnicity' — nor, despite some recent writings on the subject, any formal or legal designation of a special group to be labelled as the 'people of the State', or 'Staatsvolk' (Bullivant, 1981).

So what type of pluralism do we have in Australia and what kind of society can we expect in the future?

I would suggest that in Australia we have at least the beginnings of a different kind of pluralism from that which prevailed in Cyprus, or from the type now to be found in Malaysia or Israel. This is based on *some fundamental principles* that underlie Australian society of today. These are briefly delineated below.

1. NO ONE RULING GROUP. There is *no one dominant group* which is officially held to be superior to all others on account of its formally ascribed status that is based on religion, language, ancestry or other cultural or racial criteria. *(In this sense all Australians are members of 'Staatsvolk').*

2. SHARED VALUES. There is now in Australia an ongoing process whereby a *whole constellation of cultural values is being evolved that is shared by most members of the Australian community.* Hence such values are referred to as *SHARED or over-arching* values for Australians, whatever their ethnic background. Many of these values derive from the cultural heritage of our majority ethnic group that has its origins in the British Isles, but other values owe their beginnings to people who came from other parts of the world.

Whatever their sources, these shared values have proved sufficiently attractive to draw together people who came to this country in search of a more democratic, more tolerant, and economically freer atmosphere than they could find in their home countries. These shared values have been articulated before (Smolicz, 1979), and briefly they refer to certain qualities of Australian life, namely:

- our democratic parliamentary system of government;
- our 'mixed' type of economic system where individual efforts are not stifled but where the Commonwealth and States can exercise a legitimate degree of economic initiative;
- our deeply enshrined belief in the sanctity of the rights of the individual, with protection from the excessive interference of

governments or other mass agencies (including rights of free speech, of property, and freedom of religion);

- the acceptance of the English language as the most convenient method of communication between Australians of all backgrounds;
- the belief in the desirability of multiculturalism as a way of providing a full avenue for the expression of deeply felt attachment to one's ancestry and culture.
- One further shared value to which all Australians fortunately subscribe and which is essential for the stability of the country is the acceptance of the unity of the state, which is shown in a lack of any secessionist aspirations on the part of any group or section of the Australian population.

The shared values of Australians are still in the process of crystallisation. This country has always displayed aspects of cultural pluralism in its history, the appearance of a more widespread and 'more audible' array of languages is comparatively recent and dates from the period of large scale migration following the end of the Second World War. The degree to which such pluralism has already been accepted by large sections of the population and endorsed by successive Australian governments is therefore a remarkable phenomenon that is in sharp contrast to 'ethnic strife' experienced by less tolerant societies and their intransigent and ethnocentric rulers.

3. ETHNIC VALUES. The situation therefore at present in Australia is that the shared values accepted by the great majority of the people are in a dynamic equilibrium with the cultural values of the various ethnic groups that make up the Australian population. These *ethnic values* differ from group to group, and they also diverge from the national values that the immigrants originally brought to Australia and which continue to develop in their respective homelands. Ethnic cultures in this country differ from their national precursors because they have been influenced by the Australian setting, and because each group has surrendered some parts of its heritage in exchange for participation in the shared values of the whole nation.

There is no need to anticipate an inevitable conflict between the shared values of Australia and the ethnic values of differing groups, since it is possible to subscribe to and activate the ethnic values derived from one's country of origin and at the same time be a loyal and fully integrated Australian citizen. One should distinguish between conflict and friction, since the latter is present in most societies, and need not be regarded as always harmful. Indeed, as T.S. Eliot has claimed, the greatest inventiveness and creativity is to be found at the 'friction edge of cultures'. It may be argued that the cultural values of the majority ethnic group in this country (who derive their origin from the British Isles), fit most comfortably into the shared value system of Australia, but many people of non-British origin are now in a position to maintain and develop their ethnic cultures in Australia, while in no way feeling a 'subordinate' minority in the country.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Australians of Celtic origin who were Roman Catholic found themselves a disparaged minority, since in those days their religion placed them outside the mainstream of this country. Those days are now past, and instead one keeps hearing of the 'Anglo-Celtic' majority as the new 'power broker' of Australian society. The division which is at present being foisted on us is one of language, rather than religion, with the assumption that those who continue to make use of languages other than English in some domains of their life are somewhat peripheral and outside the 'people of the state'. This is an erroneous and mischievous suggestion, and it is to be hoped that it will become discredited in the same way that religious intolerance has become unacceptable to today's Australians.

The co-existence of ethnic variation with a shared value system could in future develop in either of two directions. The shared values could become as ephemeral and insubstantial as they have in Cyprus, while the ethnic values could increasingly compartmentalise our society into separate pockets or enclaves. Such a society could only continue to exist if political coercion were used to maintain its unity. An example of such a society is provided by the U.S.S.R. where Soviet-communist values have lost their credibility as a unifying force in society to such an extent that the absence of any shared element in the belief system of the country has to be 'made good' by a totalitarian government and police state. Alternatively, the decay of shared values and increasing separatism of ethnic groups, each within its own social and cultural ghetto, could lead to fragmentation of society and finally result in disintegration of the type seen, for example, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire broke up following the First World War.

4. INTERACTION OF VALUES. To avoid this it is necessary to develop the shared elements of our culture and transmit them to the younger generation through the educational system. It is also necessary to ensure that not only the majority ethnic group, but the minorities also have their cultures respected and transmitted by the school.

Minority ethnicity should not be made inferior by 'domestication', nor 'squeezed into a corner' and encouraged to become introverted and self-directed by its 'privatisation' in the homes and clubs of ethnic groups. Those who still hanker after an assimilationist solution sometimes imagine that if only ethnicity could be locked up in 'migrant kitchens' the rest of society could continue as if we were still living in the cosy world of the 1930s and 1940s. Assimilation policies have failed and minority ethnic cultures and languages have survived not only among the 'real migrants' who first arrived in this country, but also among the migrants' children and even among some of their grandchildren (who are therefore not 'migrants', although they may be able to speak Greek, as well as English!).

Languages and cultures cannot exist in a social vacuum, but need structural support for their continued maintenance and development. This structural support is provided by the minority ethnic family, club or ethnic school. There is nothing wrong with this kind of ethnic structural support, except that if separatism and segregation are to be avoided, *the cultures of Australia should be made available to all Australians.* In this way the minority groups will not experience isolation or inferiority, since they will see their cultures respected and activated by those from other backgrounds, including those from the majority group.

The only way to achieve this objective is to make sure that ethnic cultural values are transmitted and supported, not only by ethnic homes and schools, but that they also gain entry into the mainstream of Australian education where they can be studied by Australians from all backgrounds. This trend is already in evidence, and an increasing number of Australian schools are teaching ethnic minority languages and incorporating materials from the cultural heritages of these groups into social studies, history and geography curricula. This process has to continue so that our schools come to regard their minority ethnic pupils (who are actually a majority in a number of schools) not as some kind of 'problem', but as 'living models' and active representatives of other linguistic usages and cultural norms. The argument presented here is that for a successful equilibrium between shared and ethnic values to be maintained, ethnic values have to be de-segregated, and incorporated into the school curriculum where interaction can occur at both cultural and social levels between pupils from different backgrounds.

People fundamentally opposed to pluralism often hide their own chauvinistic and ethnocentric proclivities by appeal to the argument that Australians from the majority group are not interested in learning about cultures and languages other than their own. The implication here is that the British heritage is enough and that once one speaks English all other languages are redundant, and possibly even harmful. This is a most insidious type of argument since it could not only inspire inferiority (and hence hatred and dissent among minorities), but also encourage an inflated ego and superiority complex among children of the majority group.

Fortunately facts belie such a myth. Given the opportunity, a number of Australian children and university students display an interest in other cultures. This does not mean that every Australian must be bilingual, or that even a majority of Australian children should be made to study another language. What it does mean is that opportunities should exist for students to study one another's languages or cultures, or both, and that such studies should begin as early as possible, normally in a primary school or even at a pre-primary level (Andersson, 1980). In this way ethnicity is de-segregated, de-privatised and open to all, while the cultures concerned enjoy respect and structural support not only from their own ethnic group but from the society as a whole.

Cultures that are 'locked up in the bedroom' or 'in the kitchen' decay and become deformed, but do not necessarily disappear. If ethnicity is degraded and becomes illiterate it does not automatically lead to assimilation. Recent examples from other countries provide evidence of violent acts by minority ethnics demanding their rights as members of minority groups, and in search of the cultural heritage which they rightly or wrongly believe has been filched from them by the dominant majority. The United Kingdom continues to suffer from the festering gangrene of the 'Irish problem', where centuries of attempts to eradicate the Irish culture through its 'ruralisation', and reduction to subservient status have failed to provide a solution. Similarly in Spain attempts to enforce unity by the imposition of the majority Castilian language have failed not only in the Basque country, but also in Catalonia, Galicia and now even in such formerly unassertive provinces as Andalusia. In France there is a rising nationalist movement in Corsica and Brittany, and stirrings in Provence in defence of the Occitan language, long suppressed by centralist impositions from Paris. In the United States the linguistic assimilation of the American Blacks has not led to ethnic amity.

Canada is often quoted as an example of failed pluralism, and of apparent rejection of English by the French and of French by the English. But Quebec separatism is in large measure the product of a long period of misguided policies that had Anglo-assimilation and economic dominance as their goals. More than any other example, it demonstrates how attempts at imposition of one dominant culture can have the opposite affect to the one intended. Lack of tolerance of minority cultures and efforts to denigrate and domesticate them lead only to the reassertion of ethnicity and to its subsequent rise based upon purely ethnic structures — educational and political.

Principles for Dynamic Pluralism

The fundamental principles for a successful pluralism in Australia can now be re-stated. They are:

1. Avoidance of the pernicious idea of the continued political, economic and cultural domination of the country by the 'Anglo-Celtic' group, since that implies the continued existence of minority ethnics in a state of perpetual servitude, and thus constitutes an ideal breeding ground for wounded pride, strife and subversion.
2. The need for the continual development of a system of shared values, transformed and developed in new ways, that would act as a cementing agent for Australian society and draw upon the cultural heritage of all contributing ethnic groups.
3. The continued existence and growth of ethnic cultures, including their linguistic, religious or familial cores, supported by the structures of the Australian state and available to Australians from all ethnic groups. *Ethnic cultures are developed in balance with the shared values, for the benefit of all Australians, who are in this way brought closer to cultures from many other lands.*

The majority ethnic group, because of its size and early settlement, is expected to continue to play the important role which it has always exercised in the life of the country. It is given, however, no special legal prerogative. The idea that it abrogates to itself the exclusive position of power in political, economic and cultural affairs is quite exaggerated and out-of-date. It is contradicted by accumulation of empirical evidence which demonstrates the increasingly important role in the academic, professional and business life of the country played by Australians from non-British background, many of whom retain their ethnic identity as well as aspects of their minority cultures (Smolicz & Secombe, 1981; Martin &

Meade, 1979; Meade, 1981, 1982; Lewins, 1980). Indeed, the concept of 'Staatsvolk' (suggesting as it does a static situation and a closed ruling group with defined membership), is not only untrue but spreads unease and suspicion among the majority and minority alike and could poison inter-ethnic relations, and retard the acceptance of minority ethnic cultures and minority ethnic individuals in the institutional structures of this country.

It is impossible to predict the future trends in development of Australian society. It could be expected that the shared values will continue to extend and develop, and that they will be the best guarantors of the cohesion of society. Should at some future date ethnic variation disappear altogether, this would be an indication of such an expansion of shared values that they then claimed exclusive application to virtually all aspects of life. If this occurred the synthesis would have been complete and we would have reached a stage of a new type of 'hybrid monism' (Smolicz, 1979) or the 'permissive melting pot' (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1975).

It is most likely, however, that ethnic variation will co-exist within a shared system of over-arching (or supra-ethnic) values and that individuals will be able to draw upon more than one cultural model in the construction of their personal cultural worlds. This variety will continue to enrich the cultural and social life of the country, as individuals will in some cases construct a *dual* system of values. (In the sphere of language this will lead to bilingualism, and the use of English in conjunction with some other community language). In other instances, people will attempt to achieve some *blend* or in between position in their personal lives, drawing for example upon Italian or Greek collectivist family traditions of *inter*-dependence and extended network of primary relations on the one hand, and the Anglo-Saxon ideal of individualism, self-reliance, independence and personal autonomy on the other (Smolicz, 1982).

Such infusion of cultural ideas from different sources beaming upon individuals from every group, as well as cultural and social interaction *between* members belonging to different ethnic backgrounds, render the picture fluid, and far from the static model suggested by the concept of 'Staatsvolk'. Values change and adapt to others within the already existing set of Australian over-arching values, and in this way create opportunities for their percolation to and enrichment of the shared value system.

Multicultural Education

In this situation it would be artificial to separate political and economic from other cultural values, or to suggest that ethnicity should be limited to home use and denied literary expression. Modern society relies upon an institutionalised system of education to initiate the young into the more formal and literary aspects of its value system.

'Multicultural education' is a response to the reality of Australian cultural pluralism and demonstrates the vitality of both the shared and ethnic values in society. If it were discontinued this would not only violate the wishes of a high proportion of ethnic minority members, but also of a growing number of people from the majority group. It is significant that

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critics of multicultural education have so far failed to articulate clear alternatives for educational action. Do they really think that 'survival' English for 'migrants' taught to third generation Greek-Australians (who most likely do not need it), is really the answer? Multicultural education, as the name implies, is not tied just to *any* kind of pluralism and its function is to counteract both assimilationist tendencies of the few remaining Colonel Blimps, and those who would use the 'poly-ethnicity' of society to cultivate separatism and a new class of 'subservients'.

Nor can multicultural education be criticised as somehow passive and apolitical, and of no value to minority ethnics, on the one hand, and as the Trojan horse of ethnic separatism on the other. The latter claim is absurd. If multicultural education is available in the public sector, it is open to all, and under the control of the Australian state. The allegation about its ineffectiveness, due to its non-political character, is also unfounded. Education in Australia is not meant to be a formal partner of political indoctrination, nor a way to guarantee employment, or entry into some kind of elite. What multicultural education does is to ensure the teaching of community languages and those ethnic values that minority groups hold dear. Some of these values have been objects of great love and political struggle in the face of foreign oppression. For example, the teaching of Polish in school is a political act for members of a Polish community who recall how their forefathers were deported into exile in Siberia for daring to use their native language in the school corridors of their homeland during the long period of Tsarist rule. For people of that background the teaching of their tongue may be at least as important as prospects of immediate economic advancement (which in any event is not adversely affected by it) and constitutes part of what they regard as their children's 'life chances' in Australia.

The fulfilment of such aspirations of ethnic minorities does not conflict with the stability and cohesion of the state, but can help to reinforce Australian identity among the country's minority groups. Canadian data show that it is often people with the highest score for ethnic identity who score highest on the identification with Canada index (Richmond, 1974). *It is the denial of difference that is dangerous to stability.* In contrast, its acceptance within the framework of Australian political, economic and educational institutions, and within an interacting system of shared and ethnic values bodes well for the future development of this country.

Tolerance Ratio and Compatibility of Values

This is essentially an *optimistic* assessment of the future of Australian society and its cultural development. Are there any dangers of which one should be aware and guard against? One of the assumptions made in this paper is that there is no essential conflict between the various cultures of Australian ethnic groups. It was also assumed that ethnic cultures contributed to the evolution of the shared values and that a dynamic equilibrium existed between them. But would values of all groups fit equally well? And would there be no points of conflict between value systems?

It would be futile to pretend any kind of uniformity in this matter, or to deny that some values overlap others more readily or more effectively. There is ample evidence, for example, that Dutch-Australians fit in linguistically more readily with the English-background majority than most other groups. There is also evidence that the groups from Southern and most parts of Eastern Europe uphold family values which are more collectivist than the more individualistically oriented people from Northern and Western Europe. But some such variations, while increasing the variety of Australian pluralism, do not undermine its foundations, not threaten the stability of the state.

Such variation in value systems and different degrees of overlap between various ethnic values do suggest the possibility of the existence in Australia of some kind of 'tolerance ratio', whereby members of certain specific ethnic groups are accepted, provided their number does not exceed a certain proportion of the whole. It is also clear that there is some variation in the tolerance ratio from group to group, but that this situation is changing; thus groups that would formerly have found it difficult to 'fit in' are now finding acceptance, at least up to a certain 'tolerance limit'.

In the past it was race that was singled out as the biggest obstacle to integration, since it was the visible part of difference, and since no amount of cultural assimilation could obliterate its traces among those labelled as 'different' from the majority. But what was formerly regarded as an almost insoluble problem, has moderated of late, partly because the *meaning* assigned to physiological variation on account of one's origin in Asia or Europe is given much less significance and arouses much less hostility than in the past. Indeed, if there is no ill-feeling or suspicion towards the redheads or the blue-eyed, why should one feel threatened by anyone's shape of eyes, cheekbones or pigment?

In the present climate of more ready acceptance of such physical differences, on the one hand, and the simultaneous awareness that traditional ideas about the possibility of effecting a complete assimilation are impractical, on the other, cultural diversity is beginning to assume much greater importance than in the past. In the post-war period it was assumed that every cultural conflict could be eliminated in subsequent generations through the assimilation of the descendants of 'foreigners'. Hence time was seen as exercising a benign function of value homogenisation. With this faith gone, much more attention is likely in the future to be focused upon the values of the new arrivals, and the way they were likely to fit (or not to fit) both the shared values of society and the ethnic values of some of the existing major groups. (This refers not only to the way they fit the values of the Anglo-Saxon majority, but also, for example, to the possibility of discord between Australians of Jewish and Arabic backgrounds, or between those of Greek and Turkish, or of Lebanese Christian and Palestinian origins.) In all such issues a question of judgment and profound knowledge of the cultures concerned is imperative.

To exclude people on account of disliking their values may appear arbitrary and indeed totalitarian. On the other hand, every country has a right to plan the structure of its own population and, if rapid assimilation to uniformity is discounted, it is legitimate to ask about the culture of the new arrivals and the possible tolerance ratio for the group in question. It must also be remembered that the shared values which we hold are not only derived simply from the British way of life but that they originate generally from the European Western tradition that places the belief in man and his essential freedom at the centre of our civilisation. This shared value system is not immutable and can be modified in time, but it is unlikely to survive great shocks nor a sudden influx of enormous numbers of people bred in other no doubt very worthy, but fundamentally, different traditions.

Each culture is a precious possession of its people and worthy of respect. Old terminology implying superiority of one over the other is at present recognised as quite untenable (indeed, how could one talk about some culture as primitive, merely because of its lack of technological expertise, if it were very rich in spiritual values?). However, one's cultural relativism has to be tempered with a dose of political realism. As Dr. Barbara Falk (1980) once remarked about evaluating different cultures and their values — "Eating people is not simply different. Eating people is wrong". In this deceptively simple, yet profound way she was articulating one of our most fundamental shared values about the sanctity of our fellow men's souls and bodies. It is unlikely that we will be in danger of being flooded with applications for entry visas from a horde of cannibals. But although my overall assessment of the situation is optimistic, we are entitled to attach great importance to the 'cultural planning' of our migration policy, and to pay special attention to the cultural values of the new arrivals.

Appendix

Current Attitudes to the Teaching of Community Languages in Australia

Recent studies on this topic show increasingly positive attitudes of Australians to linguistic pluralism and its educational support. Such studies varied in the questions asked, but overall, they revealed that the majority opinion, whether among majority or minority respondents, favoured educational measures that enabled the teaching of ethnic minority languages to students.

The University of Adelaide study (Smolicz & Secombe, 1983) involved graduates who were beginning a Diploma in Education course during the years 1979-1982. One set of questions presented to three hundred and twenty students (fifty seven per cent with Australian or British born parents; thirty per cent with both parents born in non-English speaking countries; and thirteen per cent of 'mixed' parentage), investigated different ways minority ethnic languages could be taught in Australia. Over ninety per cent of the respondents were in favour of 'migrants teaching their children to speak their native tongue at home'. Three quarters (seventy-five per cent) of the respondents indicated that they supported the idea of 'migrants teaching their children their mother tongue in special Saturday Schools which they run'. However, our study did not reveal any desire among the future teachers to 'privatise ethnicity' into ethnic homes and schools, since as many as seventy-one per cent agreed also with the policy of 'Australian schools teaching children of migrant background to read and write in their own tongue'. It is also significant that support for Australian schools taking on the responsibility for ethnic language instruction received only marginally more support from students with parents from non-English speaking countries than it did from respondents with both parents born in Australia.

The majority of respondents, therefore, were in favour of children learning ethnic languages and cultures, and hence of maintaining cultural pluralism in Australia. We may, indeed, be pleasantly surprised by the extent of support revealed. However, it is true to say that there still remains a sizeable minority, of up to twenty-five per cent, who oppose these efforts. The one policy which gained almost unanimous support (ninety-eight per cent) from respondents of all backgrounds was that of, 'Australian schools giving all students the opportunity to learn a non-English migrant language'. Although it must be recognised that this group of respondents cannot be taken as representative of the population at large, these figures indicate that *the implementation of this last approach would arouse less opposition and division among these future teachers in our schools than any other educational policy suggested.*

Another significant response was to the statement about *'Australians of British origin learning the language of their migrant friends and neighbours'.*

Irrespective of their parental background, as *many as ninety per cent of the students agreed with this view, indicating strong support for cultural interaction, at least from their section of the community.*

Meade (1982) presented data from two studies in which he gathered responses to the question: 'Is it a good idea for children of parents from non-English speaking countries to learn their parents' language?' In Meade's Sydney survey, fifty-six per cent of the two hundred and sixty-four Australian-born parents interviewed gave replies that were positive, suggesting, for example, that ethnic languages in Australia were beneficial and conferred advantages upon the children. This trend was even stronger among the three hundred and nine parents born in non-English-speaking countries, eighty-seven per cent of whom expressed such positive views.

When one thousand and fifty-nine Year 10 students in Meade's Queensland study were asked the same question as the Sydney parents, sixty-three per cent of students with Australian-born parents and eighty-six per cent of those with parents born in non-English speaking countries gave positive replies, indicating the advantages to be gained from learning an ethnic language.

These figures are comparable to the survey of Smolicz & Lean (1979) which showed that among the parents of Year 10 students in Catholic schools in South Australia (N = 1785), less than a third of the respondents of British and Irish Australian identities disagreed with the learning of ethnic languages both at home and at school. (The corresponding figures for Italian, Polish and German-Australians were eight per cent, fifteen per cent and eight per cent respectively.)

Demonstration that such attitudes are at times actually being translated into actions is found in Helen Andreoni's (1982) description of her experiences in introducing 'a very modest multicultural program' in Italian language and culture to an isolated community where twelve per cent of the school's enrolment were of Italian origin. The 'monolingual, monocultural' staff began by recognising 'that the school curriculum should reflect the existence of the Italian community'. They encouraged the Italian-speaking children to do correspondence lessons given by a local woman who had of her own volition studied Italian by correspondence, because, as the school bus driver, she wanted to be able to converse with the Italian children on her bus, in their own language. Later when a voluntary language teacher became available to teach each class for an hour a week, the regular classroom teachers joined in the Italian language lessons and they themselves did follow-up work each day in Italian vocabulary and language structures.

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PART II

Introduction

The second session concentrated on the implications for schools and for students within these schools, of the ethnic composition and the uneven distribution of the Australian population.

Lorna Hannan, in a constructive paper, outlined the problems facing teachers in devising school policy and planning curriculum. She presents, with concrete examples, a range of practices current in schools and discusses the differing meanings of multicultural education which lie behind the initiatives.

In the second paper in this session the focus shifts to students. Phil Meade prepared a most comprehensive document covering more than one hundred pages, entitled *Comparative Education Experiences of Students of Non-English-Speaking Migrant Origin and Students with Australian-born Parents.* A copy was given to each participant at the Ballarat Institute. Meade's contribution in this volume is but a skeletal outline of the information distributed. Within the month, the third report on the Martin & Meade 'Sydney Study' will be available, and it is anticipated that the comparative study of Sydney and Queensland students on which the paper for the Ballarat Institute was based, will be forthcoming very shortly. These studies contain a wealth of empirical data on the perceptions, aspirations and performance of secondary school students of both migrant and non-migrant origin in Sydney and Queensland, and give a great deal of insight into how students are coping with the reality of multicultural Australia. The studies are strengthened by the inclusion of interviews with a large sample of parents.

There are some crucial questions raised in the short synopsis of Meade's paper which is presented in this volume. For example, the 'Sydney Study' produced little evidence that the school was in any way contributing to the breaking down of ethnic barriers. This conclusion is based on data gathered in the late 1970s. We need to ask if it still applies in 1983? If it does still apply, what are the implications for strategies in multicultural education? Uri Themal, in his paper in the same session addressed this question. The decision, on the part of group members, to divide the workshop discussion on curriculum into two groups, one of which presented a report on the structure of ethnic and racial prejudice in Australia, is another response from members of the two Institutes to this crucial question.

'How can schools change attitudes and reduce prejudices through multicultural programs?' was the subject of Uri Themal's paper. Themal does not share Smolicz's view that the introduction of community languages in systemic schools will lead to greater interchange or the breaking down of prejudices. Indeed, he sees this approach as a possible source of divisiveness, because of the difficulties inherent in deciding which languages should be taught in particular schools. He advocates the upgrading of ethnic schools, and finds the solution of teaching all community languages in such schools more equitable than their widespread introduction into systemic schools.

At the end of Session Two, small group workshops discussed the case studies which were distributed prior to attendance at the Institute. The five case studies of school responses to enrolments which varied in degree and type of ethnic mix provide models of strategies which are applicable not only to schools whose composition matches those of the examples chosen, but to all schools which seek to foster community involvement and cater for the needs and desires of their clientele.

These case studies raise important issues, such as the possible response of particular ethnic groups if the aspirations for their children are not accommodated by systemic schools (Bucknall; McKnight). The two studies which focus on the education of Aborigines (Bucknall; Powierza) show how fallacious is the conception that Aboriginal adults are disinterested in the education of their children and are incapable of playing a meaningful role in school affairs.

Three of the studies provide models of bicultural education. While their messages are more readily transferable, and the model which they exemplify is easier to implement in bicultural schools, nonetheless, some of the differing strategies outlined could be followed in all schools which have substantial numbers of more than one ethnic group in their enrolments. The type of school/community relations strategies reported by Powierza, for example, could well be applied in schools where there were two, three or four substantial ethnic group clusters.

The section in the Powierza case study, focusing on special challenges for non-Aboriginal teachers of Aboriginal children, should be read in conjunction with the case study by Bucknall and the two papers by Eric Willmott and Vic Forrest which appear in Part IV of this set of readings. These contributions provide a clear and strong message of why Aboriginal children are not coping in Westernised Australian schools.

Schools whose enrolments comprise a variety of ethnic groups pose special problems for teachers who wish to encourage the involvement of parents and the recognition of the ethnic identity of students. Ann Logan outlines a multi-faceted program in a primary school in Canberra, and suggests that the 'outcomes appear to be advantageous, both multiculturally and educationally'. Logan makes a significant observation, one that transcends all the detailed discourse on multicultural education — the importance of the *quality* of the teacher. Another interesting observation in the evaluation of the A.C.T. program is that:

> It is the considered opinion of the staff that non-English speaking background students have gained in general language ability and self-concept.

There is a need for more definitive information on whether the provision of mother tongue study does in fact improve a student's ability in the use of the English language.

The school chosen to represent those with predominantly Anglo-Saxon enrolments is not a typical case. The approach adopted by the Australian International Independent School is one that places a very heavy load on teachers, but there are many teachers in the system who would be prepared to undertake the extra duties involved if given the opportunity. There is a link between some of the issues raised in Lorna Hannan's paper, discussed earlier in this section, and the approach outlined in the case study provided by Bill Eason. In its non-selective (except in financial terms), non-competitive approach, and in the promotion of an outlook which encourages 'Awareness, Responsibility, Involvement', the Australian International Independent School is an example of what Hannan calls a school that has

> gone a long way towards showing that learning can be organised in a program that relies on *negotiating the curriculum* and *in dialogue* which is not limited to the exchange of ideas but intends to put ideas together in a social context beyond individual concerns and individual effort.

Problems and Issues for Teachers Making Decisions on Curriculum

L. Hannan

The following outline is not meant to be the basis of a theoretical paper. Its content and thrust will be drawn from a range of present school practices and points of discussion from examples are indicated.

1. What Multiculturalism Means for Teachers and Schools

1.1 Range of Meanings

Whatever meanings multiculturalism may have in the rest of the society, it currently has several distinct meanings in schools. The difficulties that come out of people mistakenly believing that they are using the same term to cover the same range of meanings become even more confusing when they are trying to negotiate school policy and curriculum planning. Therefore I intend to start by looking at a range of the meanings currently used among teachers talking about multicultural education.

1.2 School Based Meanings

What these meanings have in common is that they are based on particular school practices and policies. It is therefore not appropriate to talk about their being 'correct' or 'incorrect'. It will gradually become obvious that none are completely misguided, but many are unsatisfactory; some are contradictory and all are incomplete. Nevertheless they are the basis from which we can start and they need to be understood.

1.3 Examples

1.3.1 Where a multicultural curriculum is seen to be one which helps migrant children and the children of migrant families to fit into the general society.

This view is characteristically held in schools whose population think of themselves as 'Australian' rather than 'migrant' and where the teaching staff agrees with their perception. The first reaction of those with a strong

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commitment to multiculturalism or with experience of a developed program is to be shocked at a view which exonerates that group from any other responsibilities to act as part of the total society. However, hidden inside the rather limited meaning being given to the intentions of a multicultural curriculum is a rather hazy perception of the legitimate case for a school to respond in content and emphasis to its own population.

An example of this view is:

> There are no migrants in our school so we do not need to introduce a multicultural program. What we want to do is take our students to Melbourne where they can see the problems first-hand.

1.3.2 Where a school program is thought to become multicultural by planning a number of discrete activities, some of which are outside the curriculum such as 'ethnic nights' or 'international day'.

These events are intended to give different groups a chance to display part of their culture and so to familiarise everyone with the diversity to be found among cultures. The problems with this approach are that it can remain superficial and need not influence the formal program even when it is relevant; and that it fails to show that similar or even identical human wishes can and are met in a great variety of ways.

The program examined contrasts the potential with present practice.

> . . . Children will cook and eat spaghetti . . .
>
> COMPARED WITH
>
> . . . bread.
>
> After looking at different sorts of bread, we will tell the children how they are made. For example Middle Eastern bread used to be made *at home*. In Australia, it is made by the baker and people who are used to flat bread *buy* it while some others decide they will *also buy it*.

1.3.3 Where a multicultural curriculum is described as an overall attitude to the subject matter and organisation of the school.

This description is hardly debatable and only becomes interesting when it is clear what is to be done and why. An analogy can be made with another teaching idea called LANGUAGE ACROSS THE CURRICULUM. Both lead rather too quickly to the conclusions either than if you have the right attitude you will be doing the right thing; or that a range of disconnected and incoherent activities can be initiated and linked to the approved attitude, and will need no further justification.

As part of our multicultural program we have introduced:

- International Day
- Ethnic Nights (one each term)
- Folk dancing
- Parent newsletter

This year we want to start

- A Drop-in Centre for ethnic parents
- A multicultural library with books in Italian, Greek and Vietnamese
- Story telling

1.3.4 Where a multicultural curriculum is seen as a substitute for Community Language Programs, because it can reach everyone in English and provide them with an understanding of different cultures.

It is clear that because teachers are hard to find and Community Language Programs lack adequate classroom materials, they are hard to introduce and school administrators are quickly sympathetic to the idea that something else can be done instead and will serve the same purpose more effectively. Most such programs also remain safely under the control of the teachers, though whether this provides them with conscious or unconscious support, I could not say.

1.3.5 Where a multicultural program is seen as a necessary support and complement to a Community Language Program.

I take it that a Community Language Program, whether it is an introductory program for non-speakers or a maintenance program in the mother tongue for a section of the school population, cannot be divorced from the idea that students will be making contact with the culture with which that language has a symbiotic relationship. Hence the idea that related subject areas should support the language study is often advanced. However there can be no adequate *multiculturalism* if the developing culture of the Australian Community is not introduced and advanced as part of the program.

Example: the culture of 'Australians' today and how it can be used in the curriculum.

THE CULTURE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY

Example

Responses of commentators, historians, writers, artists, film-makers

- The Australian landscape
- The Aboriginal peoples and cultures
- Migration
- Life in the outback
- Life in the cities
- Cultural diversity in Australian life
- The idea of egalitarianism

1.3.6 Where a multicultural program is seen as the introduction of a set of values to the conventional areas of the curriculum, thereby changing their content.

What is involved is the correction of prejudiced judgments and long established omissions, the development inside schools of coherent material which informs students about the nature of the society. What is still more difficult is for schools to uncover and work with the conflicts which underlie the content and also to find ways of involving parents. Their approving, informing or planning the curriculum to do justice to our need to have an informed population raises the idea of community involvement beyond tokenism.

An example of attempts to involve parents in this process.

WHAT PARENTS WANT

The Brunswick Secondary Education Council has set out ten main issues that come up in debate at parents' meetings

Ten Issues for Negotiation

1. Community languages
2. Assessment
3. Discipline
4. English
5. Core: English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Community Languages compulsory to Year 10
6. Dress: An economical form of school dress with a school identification on it
7. Maths
8. Homework
9. Grouping: In some schools students in year grades are promoted automatically each year. Parents are used to a system of promotion from grade as the result of tests
10. Participation: Parents want their ideas to be considered seriously by the teacher and either to see them put into practice or to hear why they cannot

2. Why Teachers and Schools are Interested in Multiculturalism

2.1 Response

Whatever criticisms can be levelled at schools and teachers about intransigence and lack of response to the needs of students and society, it is also the case that they have daily contact with groups of students whose needs cause them to re-examine what they are doing. Consequently the greatest level of awareness of multiculturalism is in schools with a varied ethnic student group.

2.1.1 Representative program in a school with a high migrant population.

SCHOOL WITH HIGH MIGRANT POPULATION

Language Programs							
English	P	1	2	3	4	5	6
'Additional English'	As Required						
Bilingual Italian group	P	1	—	—	—	—	—
Italian for speakers	—	—	2	3	4	5	6
Italian for non-speakers	P	1	2	3	4	5	6
Greek for speakers	—	—	—	3	4	5	6
Greek for non-speakers	—	—	—	3	4	5	6
Arabic for speakers	—	—	—	3	4	5	6
Multicultural Themes							
The Family	P	1	2	3	—	—	—
Where we come from	—	—	—	—	4	5	6
Christmas	P	1	2	3	4	5	6
Easter	P	1	2	3	4	5	6
and so on							

2.1.2 Contrasting program in a school with imperceptible migrant presence in its population.

SCHOOL WITH LOW MIGRANT PRESENCE

Language Programs							
English	P	1	2	3	4	5	6
'Additional English'	Not Provided						
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	5	6
Multicultural Themes							
Migration	—	—	—	—	4	5	6

2.2 Social Justice

There are also teachers whose argument for and justification of multicultural activities and curriculum is based on first principles — on the view that everyone has the right to have their ethnic background accepted by and represented in the school. While the original argument is unarguable, it very often leads to a truncated approach at the level of action in the school.

2.2.1 Programs which show some evidence of tokenism.

COMMUNITY LANGUAGE PROGRAM

Time allotment 20 minutes per week

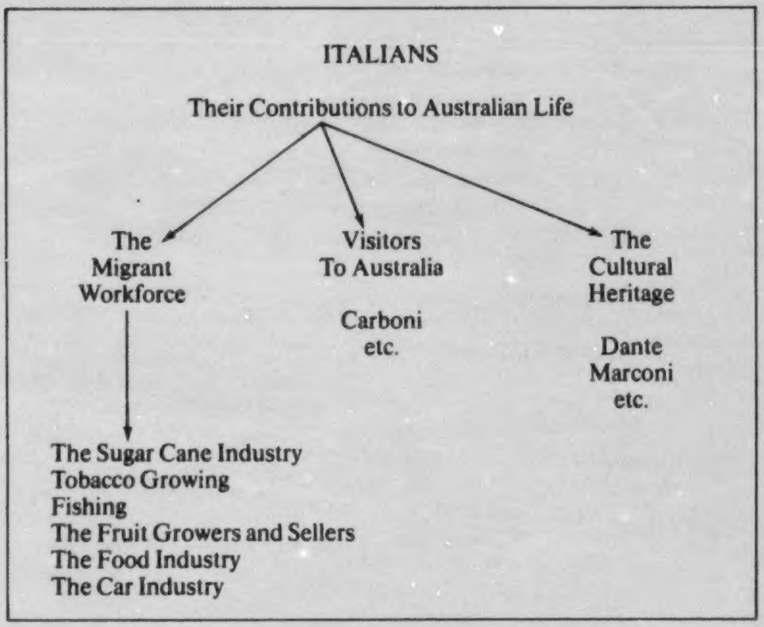
QUERY: How much language learning could possibly be expected if class time is minimal?

2.2.2 Evidence of opportunism in some areas of school planning.

Funds requested for a teacher for a language program when the school knows of no registerable applicant; for library holdings in languages not taught in the school; for titles of Social Science texts with no indication that anything new will be added or developed in the school.

2.3 Social Reality

Even a disinterested analysis of our present society will show it to contain a number of ethnic cultures, some of them repressed and struggling, and others having a stronger presence in our community. The history of our society is partly the history of a number of identifiable ethnic groups and their interplay, their influence on each other and on the destiny of the total society. The difficulty for teachers who see multiculturalism in this light is that not even the informational base on which their new courses could be developed is available to them.


ITALIANS
Their Contributions to Australian Life
The Migrant Workforce
Visitors To Australia
Carboni etc.
The Cultural Heritage
Dante Marconi etc.
The Sugar Cane Industry
Tobacco Growing
Fishing
The Fruit Growers and Sellers
The Food Industry
The Car Industry

2.4 Fashion

It is often said of teachers that they are jumping on this or that bandwagon. Multicultural education is said to be such a bandwagon by critics of the teachers who follow it, and by critics of the growing number of programs claiming to belong to it. The words used and the tone adopted denigrates both the teachers and the programs. It does seem likely to me that some teachers will follow a new movement fairly spontaneously, but I would counter any suggestion that they do in significant numbers on the grounds of fashion only by remembering that it involves a lot of extra, hidden work. Information seeking, planning the sequence by which novel material will be taught and devising methods of teaching which try to come to terms with attitude change are tasks that lie quite close to the beginning of any multicultural program. The bandwagon criticism also rings rather close to YOU'RE WRONG IF YOU DO AND YOU'RE WRONG IF YOU DON'T which makes me wary of the reasons for which such a dismissive argument is advanced.

2.4.1 A market for multicultural materials does spawn some inadequate publications. (Teachers need to know how to evaluate text books and other materials intended for the classroom.)

2.4.2 Examples of materials developed responsibly and which focus on the Making of Australian Society are:

1. *Seventeen Australian Families,* produced in 1981 by Qantas and The Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra.
   The seventeen case studies of Australians from a variety of ethnic backgrounds are presented in separate booklets. Each deals with family background, dwelling, eating, relaxing, worshipping, learning, communicating and working. One colour poster and two colour prints of each family; two cassettes; and a teachers' handbook are included in the package.
2. *The Australians,* produced in 1981 by Magic Mirror Productions, and distributed exclusively by L. & S. Educational Supply Corporation, is a multi-media kit consisting of six half-frame film strips; six audio cassettes; 50Hz automatic or manual film strip projectors, a teachers' guide and student work sheets.
   The titles include:
   Who are the Australians?
   Origins: The Populating of Australia
   Australian Lifestyles
   Music in Australia
   Food in Australia
   Religion in Australia

3. Multiculturalism Seen as Part of the Process of Schooling

3.1 What Schools Are For

One of the strongest views of the purpose of schooling comes from Paolo Freire. Freire's thought is based on the idea of human vocation which is to act on life to change and improve it, and which is itself clearly a strong motivation in the minds of many teachers. Freire's case ranges beyond school and is based on a dichotomy ranging over all aspects of life and society between being able to act (which is human) and being acted on (which is to be treated inhumanly). He goes further and puts the responsibility for helping people to see how they are prevented from behaving humanly on schools, even though he does not think schools alone can change society. Ultimately he places teachers right in the centre of any effort to understand and plan to improve our life conditions. Teachers are therefore involved in the disciplined effort both to recognise diverse cultures in our society and to provide structures whereby they can contribute to its overall development (an aspect of the DOMINATION/OPPRESSION theme which Freire's thinking makes central to education in our time).

Nothing short of this view is sufficient to carry the open intentions of multicultural education forward, but of course it takes reflection and analysis to work out what actions it can lead to.

3.2 Schools and Knowledge

What schools are undoubtedly responsible for is learning, but the distinction between getting-to-know and the acquisition of knowledge is blurred. Learning is valued in people who have achieved it. The infamous example of the semi-literate doctor carving you up following a misguided idea of where the appendix ought to be is usually wheeled out in support of knowledge. Schooling is concerned with getting into the learning game — i.e., with the process of learning, and learning about society and its cultures. Step by step that process can be represented:

INFORMATION GATHERING — REFLECTION — DESCRIPTION — INTERPRETATION;

and can continue

INTERPRETATION — ACTION — CHANGE

at which point the process enters its second cycle. Stated in the abstract, the description is totally unexceptional but what it suggests is that teachers need to deliberately examine processes rather than limiting themselves to what will be learned, and that approach may be most appropriate to the multicultural areas of the curriculum.

Example: A course of study whose content is established by describing the process.

SENIOR ENGLISH
A COURSE OF STUDY AS A GROUP 2 SUBJECT

6.0 ASSESSMENT

6.1 Principles

6.1.1 Assessment is to be continuous, diagnostic and participatory.

6.2 Process

6.2.1 At the mid-point of each unit, a reporting device, oral or written should be provided by
  a) Students, directed to the teacher
  b) The teacher directed to the student

focusing on matters such as
- What has been learnt?
- What skills have been developed?
- How far does the student feel she or he has moved towards achievement of the goals?
- What is the teacher's opinion on the same issue?
- How does the student feel he or she has participated?

6.2.2 At the end point of each unit students should submit a report to the teacher similar to that described above.

3.3 Negotiation

Teachers and schools which have worked towards non-selective non-competitive schooling have gone a long way towards showing that learning can be organised in a program that relies on *negotiating the curriculum* and *in dialogue* which is not limited to the exchange of ideas but intends to put ideas together in a social context beyond individual concerns and individual effort.

Concern for critical thinking is neither foreign nor objectionable to most teachers but they are often lost about how to do it and feel in need of help to strengthen their analysis of the material to be examined and their confidence about how to organise that material in the classroom.

3.4 Starting Points: Organisation

A number of current school practices come under heavy attack, and teachers are often in search as we all are, of the 'right answer'. Here as elsewhere the right answer is not so simple.

3.4.1 The spaghetti and dance elements of the curriculum are criticised not because they are wrong but because they are not enough. The adage about teaching that you must start where the students are is true for the students and true for the teachers too. Where teachers have introduced short-term activity based elements into the school program, they have done something more than nothing. School based in-service where schools can look at the details of programs developed in other schools seem to provide the necessary impetus for many teachers to take the Second Step.

3.4.2 The introduction of a subject called 'Multicultural Studies' is often heavily criticised on the grounds that the whole school program should be informed by multiculturalism rather than being limited to one segregated study.

However there is no reasn why a section of the school program should not concentrate on relevant questions; it need not be exclusive as the critics of this type of program presume and a start has to be made somewhere. One secondary school made 'Multicultural Studies' compulsory in the junior levels, an elective in the middle school, and a pre-requisite for senior studies in politics and social studies, thereby legitimating the study within the framework of its academic curriculum and in no way incarcerating the relevant content inside one impoverished activity.

3.4.3 The introduction of thematic content into existing subject areas, whether by teaching thematically or co-ordinating content, is another way in which secondary schools have tried to develop their multicultural work. The problem is that teachers feel immobilised by their inability to involve all the subjects they want at the same time and so abandon the idea as impractical. The pragmatic answer of using the material you can get is not only reasonable but adequate, and school based work groups seem better adapted to meeting these needs than centralised services.

3.5 Starting Points: Content

3.5.1 The important characteristic of materials for multicultural programs is their *authenticity* and ability to bring real life rather than text-book issues into the classroom.

3.5.2 It is important for teachers to realise that *a range of materials* is important. Different 'documents' bring different content to the class, e.g., photographs, statistics, newscasts, oral history, current affairs programs, cartoons, etc.

3.5.3 Because migration and the cultural diversity in Australian life have become elements in *our national literature and film,* their regular selection for study can enhance understanding of multiculturalism without its being forced on the students, and without its being the only motive which ever brings these issues into the classroom.

3.5.4 The importance of *local studies,* examining the history and traditions of districts or regions as a starting point for a multicultural curriculum has to be placed *in the context of national migration and cultural patterns,* because without that focus, the development of an informed attitude to the total society is lost.

3.6 Unless multicultural education has the official approval and support of education systems and administrations, it cannot succeed. Working for official support must therefore be the aim of teachers or community workers trying to influence school programs.

3.6.1 The present status of Community Language teaching and the provision of Community Language teachers is *ad hoc* with the result that the programs themselves are insecure and do not take their place equally with more permanent parts of the program.

STATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS TEACHING GREEK LANGUAGE

	'74	'75	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82
Albert Park		.	.	.	.	.	.		
Auburn				.	.	.	.	.	.
Brighton St., Richmond								.	.
Collingwood								.	.
Cremorne St., Richmond				.	.	.	.		
Gold St., Clifton Hill				.	.	.	.	.	.
Lalor North					.	.	.	.	.
Malvern Central				.	.				
Richmond Central				.	.			.	.
Spensley St., Clifton Hill				.	.	.	.		
Victoria Park	.	.	.	.	.	.			
Westgarth		.	.	.	.				
Ayr									.
Coburg									.
	1	3	3	9	10	7	6	6	8

Information collected and published by Dr. E. Afendras

3.6.2 Multicultural education policies are not supported with the full machinery for implementation. Such tokenistic attitude coming from the top encourages tokenist programs in the schools.

Community Support is Usually Cultural Whereas Many
Decisions in the School are Functional — Tension

COMMUNITY LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

Languages of migrant groups *thought* to be taught with emphasis on *communication* and therefore to use different *teaching methods*

'full' bilingual program
'limited' bilingual program
'transition' bilingual program
'maintenance' courses for speakers
'development' courses for speakers
'introductory' courses for non-speakers
'language awareness' program

- ethnic school work recognised by the school
- after-school program organised by the school
- 'insertion' class in school time
- employment of 'sessional' teacher
- use of aide or volunteer under supervision
- optional course with staff member
- compulsory or non-selective study

3.7 Schooling is at one of the major points of its development where research and developmental curriculum work is needed. The problem for many teachers at the moment is that they can see the need for new content, but cannot usefully undertake the task of researching that content individually. Support is needed in the forms of:

3.7.1 information gathering e.g., about the source countries of the present Australian population;

3.7.2 curriculum planning, where suggested sequences and resources are laid out and made accessible to teachers;

3.7.3 in-service courses at all levels of the teaching service to consider the developments needed in schools within the appropriate professional groupings;

3.7.4 pre-service courses available to a wider range of trainee teachers; study leave for practising teachers;

3.7.5 recognition of the rights and responsibilities of parents and community groups to be consulted in the developmental and implementational phases of the multicultural curriculum.

4. Some Major Questions

4.1 How can schools and classroom teachers confront the complex issues of attitudinal change, and the means by which cultural differences and tensions are resolved in the school community?

4.2 How can parents and ethnic communities be assured of having a significant and appropriate voice in the development of multicultural curriculum?

4.3 Can all schools be expected to adopt a multicultural curriculum or should there always be an element of choice?

4.4 (As partially indicated in the previous section 3.7) What official support is needed for teachers and schools developing a multicultural curriculum?

The Educational Experience of Children of Migrant Origin*

Phil Meade

Introduction

This paper compares the educational experiences of migrant and non-migrant origin secondary students in Sydney and Queensland schools with particular reference to: perceptions, aspirations, school performance and equality of educational opportunity. Educational experience was placed within the theoretical frameworks of Institutional Ideology and Migration Experience (see Martin and Meade, 1979; Meade, 1981, 1983a).

In schools the Institutional Ideology is linked with accreditation of students for tertiary study or jobs and is based on teacher definitions of student competence which relies on measures of 'brightness' that span an extremely limited range of cognitive abilities. Thus 'bright' children are given every opportunity to study and learn, are encouraged to have confidence in their ability and are motivated to aspire high and work hard. The 'less bright' are steered away from unrealistic educational and occupational goals. To the extent that students, teachers and parents share or agree to 'go along with' these conceptions, the school careers of students will be highly predictable and consistent. But if this congruence does not exist, the connections between 'brightness', educational opportunity, aspirations/motivation and accreditation will break down. It is postulated that ethnic differentiation is one source which challenges the dominance of the Institutional Ideology. Migrant parents see the socialising role of the school as more important than its role as an accreditation agency.

The Migration Experience was described in terms of both stunting and liberating theories. With the former, migration is seen as problem generating, resulting in personal loss of identity, disorganisation, social isolation and defensiveness, and cultural deprivation. With the latter, migrants are seen to benefit from participation in a multicultural arena, exposure to a broad range of alternatives and opportunities to contribute fresh ideas that can facilitate innovative change in society.

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* A major report on the Sydney Study (Meade, 1983a) conducted in conjunction with the late Dr. Jean I. Martin will shortly be available from the Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra. A detailed comparison of the Sydney and Queensland studies is being published by the Brisbane College of Advanced Education. (Meade, 1983b)

The Samples

The Sydney Study involved 3043 state metropolitan high school students surveyed during the period 1974-77 (Years 9 to 12). Interviews were conducted with six hundred and ninety parents. The Queensland Study involved 1059 secondary students surveyed during the period 1978-80 (Years 10 to 12). Questionnaires were completed by seven hundred and eighteen parents. The Queensland investigation utilised data from a study designed to evaluate the Secondary Allowances Scheme (SAS) (Meade, 1982). As non-government schools and rural state and Brisbane metropolitan schools, selected purposively on the basis of SAS criteria, were included, the Queensland school sample does not parallel that of Sydney.

Family Interests and Social Experience

The climate of opinion that led to the sponsoring of the Sydney Study was dominated by the view that migration was a stunting, problem-generating experience. However, results from both Sydney and Queensland studies give evidence of non-English-speaking (NES) family cohesion and solidarity, and unity of family purpose in relation to children's futures. Rather than being isolated from relatives and friends the NES student group tended to enjoy the benefits of an extended family situation to the same or a greater extent than students of non-NES origin.

In the Sydney Study only, a socio-metric analysis was conducted. The results provided evidence of segregation of student sub-groups in terms of friendship patterns based on two variables: IQ and ethnicity. The organisation of school classes via homogeneous grouping based on IQ would have contributed to the IQ result. There was a pronounced tendency for students to 'overchoose' their own ethnic group when the influence of IQ was controlled. These findings are probably a reflection of much deeper divisions in the wider community including such aspects as location of family home and differences in cultural perspectives. There was little evidence to show that the school was in any way contributing to the breaking down of these barriers.

Within the NES family groups the language of family communication networks is an important intervening variable which influences the ability of migrants to participate in the dominant culture. The results from both studies illustrate that a high rate of retention of ethnic languages has occurred in NES homes:

(a) parents tend to communicate with each other in their native tongue;
(b) siblings tend to communicate with each other in English;
(c) siblings and parents tend to communicate in a mixture of the two languages.

The Sydney data revealed that, as many NES parents have not learned English, children are required to help their parents by translating official forms, letters and school notices and reports from English i.e. they use their translating skills to assist their parents with tasks which are frequently of an 'adult' nature. These activities are more likely to occur in Greek, Lebanese and Yugoslav homes and less likely to occur in those of

Italian and Maltese. NES origin children may benefit as the result of being at the interface of two cultures. As one Greek girl commented: 'I speak and write Greek fairly well . . . and I feel I have more of an advantage than all my Aussie friends put together!'.

The high retention rate of ethnic language usage in NES migrant homes raises the issue of whether NES origin children should be given the opportunity to learn their parents' language. The majority of NES origin students and more than half of the students from non-NES backgrounds gave an affirmative response to a question directed towards this issue. Views expressed were that:

(a) the ethnic language is a help in communicating with parents, friends and relatives;
(b) study of language is helpful in learning about culture and appreciating ethnic origins;
(c) academic and social benefits accrue from learning more than one language.

However, a number of non-NES origin children who favoured the teaching of ethnic languages wanted the use of such languages to be restricted to the home.

A small proportion of NES origin students — seven per cent in the Sydney Study and eleven per cent in the Queensland Study — expressed a negative response to the question. This result may indicate rejection of and alienation from their parents' culture. In several of the replies, for example, the students appeared to be resisting their parents' wishes concerning adherence to cultural values which the children consider inappropriate in Australia. There are several explanations as to why a much larger number of non-NES origin students responded negatively. Some are no doubt reflecting a hard line assimilationist perspective and hope all migrants will quickly learn English and discard their ethnic language. Another possible explanation is that students are merely reflecting anti-migrant feelings which exist in some segments of the community. Certainly, the studies have identified small pockets of students with highly aggressive anti-migrant attitudes and prejudices.

In relation to the Migration Experience, both stunting and liberating perspectives are indicated by the data. Many non-NES origin children and their families when faced with cultural perspectives different from those they have 'taken for granted' have simply intuitively rejected them as wrong and learnt nothing from the experience. A smaller 'hard line' group of non-NES children want to remove the cause of the unease resulting from the threat to their definitions of reality by sending the migrants 'back to where they came from'. Migrants are seen by these students as intruders. On the other hand, many NES origin parents have preferred to remain in ethnic communities and have failed to make any effort to learn English. They too have attempted to 'cling to old ways' and appear to have gained little from the potentially invigorating experiences of interacting with members of a culture different from their own. It is difficult to identify major causal factors. Some migrant children claim that their parents are being 'pushed back into their own culture' or are being 'crushed and degraded' by the 'fair dinkum Aussies'! Children with

Australian-born parents argue that migrant parents have not attempted to 'mix in' or 'to learn English'.

These data may only be the tip of an iceberg in a sea of prejudice, intolerance, inflexibility, narrow-mindedness and refusal to examine 'taken for granted' assumptions which exist in the minds of many parents, of both NES and non-NES origin. One can only be saddened by the lost opportunities for personal enrichment and cultural development. But NES origin children are one group where the liberating influences, stimulations and fresh visions of migration appear to have taken root and flourished like flowers in the desert.

Parents' Perceptions of Schooling

Most parents in both Sydney and Queensland surveys believed that education is important for success in later life and were vitally concerned about their own child's school success.

NES origin migrant parents in the Sydney Study attached even greater importance to their child's schooling than parents from non-NES backgrounds, while in the Queensland Study the two groups placed equal importance on their child's schooling. (It is recalled that parents of students from non-government schools were included in the Queensland Study.)

However, most parents were quite remote from the school and teachers and did not see involvement in education as their role. The vast majority of parents did not attend the P & C meetings and in the few instances that parents and teachers did interact, the meetings were arranged to discuss either the child's school work or future, or to discuss the child's conduct, e.g. truancy. A number of NES origin parents raised the 'language barrier' as their reason for non-involvement. In general, parents did not think that they were capable of making a contribution to schooling and thought that education was 'best left to teachers'.

In the main, partially as a result of historical influences, parents in both studies accept their role as non-partners and non-participants in schools and prefer to 'keep out'. A number of NES origin migrant parents made comments which indicated some aspect of the culture and values of the school was of concern to them, e.g. teachers were not strict enough, but few, if any, approached the school about their concerns. There are two areas, however, where parents are interested in closer links with teachers — they are most interested in improving communication with their child's teachers to learn about their child's progress and they would like to share with teachers their insights and understanding of their own child in order to maximise their child's educational opportunities.

Students' Perceptions of Schooling

The analysis of students' perceptions of schooling revealed that in comparison with non-NES student groups, the NES origin students tend to hold more favourable attitudes to education although margins are small. A higher proportion of the NES groups in both studies were in need of improved information about jobs and further education courses, and

Sydney home interviews revealed that almost half of the NES origin parents had taken no concrete steps to help their child gain occupational information. In relation to career education it appears that the 'stunting' effects of migration were exacerbated by parents' English language difficulties and lack of contact with business and other Australian institutions. In both studies most students reported that school personnel were of little help to them in relation to 'finding out about careers'.

Educational Aspirations

Several Australian studies* have shown that NES origin students have high educational aspirations backed up by strong family support. The rank orders of proportions (from highest to lowest) of students, classified by parents' country of birth, aspiring to complete secondary school are as follows:

SYDNEY STUDY **Proportion Aspiring to the Higher School Certificate (HSC)**	QUEENSLAND STUDY **Proportion Aspiring to Senior**
Greek	Indochinese
Yugoslav	Overseas-born ES
ES/NES	Greek
Lebanese	ES/NES
Overseas-born ES	Australian
Italian	Italian
Australian	
Maltese	

Marked variations occurred in the proportions of students aspiring to complete secondary school, e.g. in the Sydney Study eighty per cent of the Greek children aspired to complete the HSC compared with only twenty-seven per cent of the Maltese, while in the Queensland Study one hundred per cent of the Indochinese aspired to complete Senior compared with sixty-one per cent of Italian students. In general, children's aspirations had the support of parents but the percentage of parents and children where coincidence of aspirations occurred was higher for the NES group. The variations between the NES and non-NES groups were most marked for the lower IQ, lower SES categories. For the NES groups parental aspirations for their child's education were much less dependent on SES or child's IQ. Case study analysis of students' perceptions of parental support reinforce the notion that many NES origin parents wanted their children to achieve a higher status in life and a better occupation with more favourable conditions than their own, e.g.

> Neither of them want me to work at a factory . . . they work for us in the hope that we will become better educated and be respected . . . and not become uneducated as they are.
>
> My parents influence me greatly because they compare themselves with the ones who have the good jobs.

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* Marjoribanks, 1978, 1980; Cox 1975; Smolicz and Wiseman 1971; Taft and Cahill, 1978

The influences of teachers and peers on aspirations were also investigated. In general our data supported the proposition that teachers tend to encourage higher IQ students while they hold more modest hopes for lower IQ students. As far as we can tell, teacher encouragement was not dependent on SES or ethnicity. Students tended to choose friends with similar aspirations to themselves. The Sydney socio-metric data support the proposition that a number of factors operate cumulatively — friends are likely to be of similar IQ, NES origin children tend to have relatively higher educational aspirations, NES origin migrant children are more likely to have friends who value education and in many cases these friends are themselves of NES origin. On the other hand the lower IQ child with non-NES parents is more likely to have friends who tend not to value education and who have aspirations to leave school.

Aspirations were found to correlate with other factors such as 'time spent on homework' (positive correlation) and 'time spent watching TV' (negative correlation).

Accreditation and School Performance

The proportion of students who completed secondary schooling gives one measure of school accreditation. The proportions of students who remained to HSC in the Sydney study and to Senior in the Queensland study are divided according to socio-economic status (SES). The rank orders of these proportions are as follows:

SYDNEY STUDY **Proportion Remained to HSC**		QUEENSLAND STUDY **Proportion Remained to Senior**	
Higher SES	**Lower SES**	**Higher SES**	**Lower SES**
Lebanese	Greek	Overseas-born ES	Overseas-born ES
Italian	Yugoslav	ES/NES	NES
Greek	ES/NES	Australian	ES/NES
ES/NES	Italian	NES	Australian
Overseas-born ES	Overseas-born ES		
Australian	Australian		
Yugoslav	Lebanese		
Maltese	Maltese		

In the Sydney Study it can be concluded that, when the influence of SES is controlled, higher proportions of most NES origin groups remained to the HSC in comparison with the groups of students of non-NES origin. Within the NES groups lower proportions of recently arrived migrant children remained to the HSC (e.g. Lebanese and Yugoslav). There was some concentration of the Italian, Lebanese and Maltese students in the poorly accredited groups, i.e. the groups that left school before the School Certificate (SC) or gained only a low SC result. In contrast to the Sydney findings, a lower proportion of the NES group of students in Queensland remained to Senior compared with the non-NES groups. However, the retention rate of all Queensland groups was high partially as a result of the select nature of the sample which included students from non-government schools. Within the ethnic sub-groups, lower proportions of the migrant students who had recently arrived in Australia remained to Senior.

In the Sydney Study the influence of SES on the result was not consistent across the ethnic sub-groups. In particular, the Lebanese appeared to consist of two quite discrete sub-groups based on SES — students in the higher SES Lebanese sub-group stayed on at school, those in the lower SES sub-group left. SES appeared to operate in a reverse way for Greek and Yugoslav students with the lower SES sub-groups exhibiting qualities of drive and determination to stay at school. In the Queensland Study, the NES group was least affected by the SES variable as far as retention to Senior was concerned.

Characteristics of Groups of Students with Different Accreditation Levels

This investigation attempts to trace the connections between 'brightness', educational opportunity, aspirations and accreditation. The longitudinal design enabled the sequence — IQ, aspiration and accreditation level achieved — to be followed for each student. It should be noted that IQ and school performance results were taken at face value, as it were, because they represent powerful definitions of reality in our educational and occupational system. In the Sydney Study, the ACER ML and MQ test was used as an indication of IQ, while in the Queensland Study Junior results were used as predictors of Senior results.

Sydney Study

Data on individual students were organised by developing a series of six 'consistency groups':

Group 1 — Aspired to and gained HSC: aspiration consistent with IQ (high or medium IQ, range 100-135)
Group 2 — Aspired to HSC, did not gain it; aspiration not consistent with IQ (low IQ, range 99 or less)
Group 3 — Aspired to HSC, did not gain it; aspiration consistent with IQ (high or medium IQ)
Group 4 — Aspired to HSC, did not gain it; aspiration not consistent with IQ (low IQ)
Group 5 — Did not aspire to or gain HSC; aspiration not consistent with IQ (high or medium IQ)
Group 6 — Did not aspire to or gain HSC; aspiration consistent with IQ (low IQ)

The consistency groups can be utilised in two related ways: first to test whether the Institutional Ideology appropriately describes the school experience and second, to investigate 'equality of educational opportunity'. Students in Groups 1 and 6 fit the behavioural pattern outlined by the Institutional Ideology — the 'bright' aspire high and complete the HSC while the 'less bright' have low aspirations and leave school. In general, teachers' encouragement in both studies tended to reflect IQ/ability ratings, i.e. support the Institutional Ideology. In Groups 2 to 5 a 'mismatch' has occurred in the IQ, aspiration, accreditation chain.

The rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation in each 'consistency group' on the basis of parents' country of birth is as follows:

Group 1	**Group 2**	**Group 3**	**Group 4**	**Group 5**	**Group 6**
ES/NES	Greek	O/s-born ES	Lebanese	Australian	Maltese
Greek	Yugoslav	Australian	Yugoslav	ES/NES	Lebanese
O/s-born ES	Italian	Yugoslav	Greek	O/s-born ES	Italian
Australian	Lebanese	ES/NES	Italian	Maltese	Australian
Yugoslav	ES/NES	Italian	Maltese	Italian	O/s-born ES
Italian	O/s-born ES	Maltese	ES/NES	Yugoslav	Greek
Lebanese	Australian	Greek	Australian	Lebanese	Yugoslav
Maltese	Maltese	Lebanese	O/s-born ES	Greek	ES/NES

Queensland Study

In Queensland consistency groups are not directly comparable with those from the Sydney Study — high or medium IQ versus low IQ was replaced by higher versus lower Junior results while the HSC was replaced by Senior. Rank order proportional representation in each consistency group is as follows:

Group 1	**Group 2**	**Group 3**	**Group 4**	**Group 5**	**Group 6**
Greek	O/s-born ES	Indochinese	Indochinese	Greek	Italian
O/s-born ES	ES/NES	Italian	Italian	Australian	Australian
Australian	Greek	Australian	Greek	O/s-born ES	ES/NES
ES/NES	Australian	ES/NES	O/s-born ES	ES/NES	Greek
Indochinese	Italian	O/s-born ES	ES/NES		O/s-born ES
Italian	Indochinese	Greek	Australian		

Discussion

The Institutional Ideology accounted for about half the educational outcomes in both studies (Groups 1 and 6). In the Sydney Study, Maltese, Lebanese and Italian students achieved the lowest three positions in the rank order for Group 1 (i.e. those who gained the HSC) but the highest three positions for Group 6 (i.e. those who left school). On the other hand, ES/NES and Greek students were within the highest three positions for Group 1 but the lowest three positions for Group 6. In the Queensland Study Italian and Indochinese students occupied the lowest two positions in Group 1 while Italian and Australian students were in the highest two positions in Group 6. Greek and overseas-born ES students achieved the highest two positions in the rank order for Group 1 but the lowest two positions for Group 6.

In the Sydney Study there were Greek, Yugoslav and Italian origin students represented in Group 2, who rejected the notion that 'only bright children gain access to the HSC'. In the Queensland Study, students of overseas-born ES, ES/NES and Greek origins (Group 2) gained Senior despite low Junior results. But in the Sydney Study another group of Lebanese, Yugoslav and Greek students (Group 4), failed in their attempt to challenge the educational path for lower IQ students postulated by the Institutional Ideology and suffered a measure of inequality of educational opportunity in the process. In the Queensland Study other Indochinese, Italian and Greek students (Group 4) with low Junior results also failed to gain Senior in spite of their stated aspirations to do so. A high proportion of students in Group 4 in both studies were aged ten or more upon arrival in Australia. It appears that high aspirations on the part of parents and children have failed to compensate for the problems experienced by this segment of NES origin migrant children.

The higher IQ students represented in Groups 3 and 5 did not follow the HSC/Senior path postulated by the Institutional Ideology for higher ability students. In the Sydney Study, Australian and overseas-born ES origin students were within the top three positions in the rank order for both Groups 3 and 5. In the Queensland Study, Indochinese, Italian and Australian origin students were in the top three positions in Group 3 while Greek and Australian students occupied the top two positions in Group 5. As Group 3 students had aspired to complete the HSC/Senior they appear to have experienced inequality of educational opportunity. On the other hand, a number of Group 5 students saw technical college as an acceptable alternative educational pathway to the HSC/Senior and had parental support for this decision. In both studies Australian origin students were heavily represented in Group 5 which could reflect a greater awareness of alternative educational pathways to the HSC/Senior by Australian born parents in comparison with NES origin parents many of whom experienced English language difficulties.

It is apparent that a number of children from several of the ethnic sub-groups (e.g. Greek, Yugoslav and Italian in the Sydney Study and Indochinese, Italian and Greek in the Queensland Study) tend to exhibit different 'mismatch' patterns from those of some children of non-NES origin sub-groups (Australian and overseas-born ES). The NES origin parents play a key role in that they accept low school performance while constantly encouraging children to complete secondary school. (This description also applies to a number of lower SES non-NES origin parents with children attending the Queensland non-government schools). Other non-NES origin parents ignore the HSC/Senior pathway dictated by high IQ/school performance and seek alternative pathways for their children's education, for example technical college.

One explanation of these results sees the NES origin migrant parents as most determined that their children will succeed in Australia. They want their child to achieve a good job (better than their own). Migrant children from such families can rely on constant parental reinforcement and support and also draw on the benefits of being part of an extended family network.

Another explanation unearths a paradox. It is possible that some migrant children have been 'toughened' and display great determination and maturity because they have survived and mastered the problem-generating effects of the 'stunting aspects of migration'. For example, the results show that many migrant parents who are not proficient in English rely on their children to help in a whole host of areas. A second illustration derives from the results which show that migrant parents (particularly those who cannot speak English) tend to have little contact with school and virtually no knowledge of the schooling process. As early poor results on the part of the child do not register with the parents, they continue to support and encourage the child to engage in further studies. On the other hand, many Australian parents, particularly those of lower SES appear to be particularly sensitive to the postulates of the Institutional Ideology if their child does not do well at school. If this latter explanation is correct, improved school-parent communication may weaken the resolve of NES parents and encourage them to line up with the notions of the Institutional Ideology from which they are presently insulated.

The inquiry points to the need for improved resources in six broad areas:

First is to break the dominance of the Institutional Ideology and encourage the education system to serve the needs of all children and, in particular, those of lower IQ and lower SES, whom it now does its best to throw off. Teachers need to encourage children in the light of their real potential to learn (and not tune encouragement to culturally biased IQ measures which penalise lower SES children and those with NES migrant origins).

Second, resources and research are needed to enable the education system to respond to the needs of student populations displaying characteristics of the six 'consistency' groups in terms of school philosophies, curriculum and school-to-work programs. The consistency group analyses bring into sharp focus the fact that significant portions of school populations are not destined for further higher education, and school programs need to reflect these trends. School-based research is needed to identify the 'consistency group' composition of each school. Individual school programs need to reflect the composition of their particular school population.

Third, resources and research are needed to develop a much greater community awareness of the advantages that can accrue from living in an ethnically plural society. Our study has highlighted the benefits that can occur when children are exposed to the socialising influences of 'two cultures'. Findings indicate that the concept of 'migrant children as problems' widely misses the mark and is unlikely to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex issues involved in analysing the educational experience of NES origin children. On the other hand, our data have brought into stark focus the existence of divisiveness and intolerance among families of NES and non-NES origin. An opportunity exists for schools to provide community leadership by demonstrating the benefits that can result from authentic family interaction and sharing which surmounts ethnic barriers. As a first step, schools need to draw on the resources of ethnic communities much more than at present when developing and presenting their programs.

Fourth, resources are required for monitoring and research to provide extra assistance (in terms of counselling and teaching) for students who are unable to achieve their aspirations to complete secondary school. In responding to these student needs, recognition should be given to the fact that a large proportion of these students are recently-arrived migrant children from NES countries.

An urgent need for children to obtain a greater amount of educational and occupational information is the focus of our fifth summary finding. Most children in the studies wanted more advice and personal involvement with 'real' life outside the school. NES origin children were, in particular, in need of help as many parents took no concrete steps to assist their child to obtain the relevant information, possibly because of language difficulties and lack of contacts with the broader community and institutions. Schools need to take steps to markedly improve counselling and careers advice services appropriate to the needs of students and their parents.

The sixth aspect follows from the findings which reveal that IQ is only one, albeit main, determinant of the outcome of students' educational experiences. Student aspirations coupled with parental wishes and encouragement played a big part in the final result.

Secondary educators should recognise these points and involve parents more when advising and educating students. Parents judge, probably correctly, that they can make little contribution to the narrow academic goals espoused by schools and hence have little desire to be involved. Consequently, educators will have to make an extra effort to identify fruitful areas where parents (particularly those of NES migrant origin) could become involved in school affairs. Moreover, it appears that students are ready to play a much bigger part in school decision making, including the selection of school curriculum electives, than they do at present. There is an urgent need for educators to open up lines of communication with all students but particularly with those with NES origin parents.

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Education for a Multicultural Society

Some Thoughts on Purpose and Implementation

Uri Themal

The main question for some of us who are involved in the field of multicultural education is the question of its purposes. I assume that there can be as many answers to that question as there are people who are dealing with it. Likewise, at this stage there can still be as many answers to the question of what multiculturalism really is or what it is supposed to be.

To some people multiculturalism is a physical manifestation of the type of society which we have. Because we have such a large ethnic mix we therefore *are* a multicultural society, they would argue. To other people multiculturalism is a goal yet to be achieved because it is not necessarily only manifested by the physical existence of a polyethnic society. To most people, I think, who are involved with multiculturalism it is a question of attitude, of behaviour, of a state of mind which enables people to live in a multicultural society, to share its values, to be able to mix with each other in a positive and in a constructive way. Let me quote from the official version of multiculturalism which the Government as well as UNESCO accept as their basic premise for the type of society which we have. The Australian Government is committed to

> the preservation and development of a culturally diversified but socially cohesive Australian society, free of racial tensions and offering security, well being and equality of opportunity to all those living here.

That is a pretty good goal if we look at some of the complex issues that this type of society raises. The definition adopted by UNESCO is more careful. It says that the goal is to create a society in which people are given the opportunity, as individuals or groups, to preserve and develop their culture — that is, their languages, their traditions and customs, so that these can become living elements in the diverse culture of the total society, while ensuring at the same time that they enjoy effective and respected places in one Australian society with equal access to the rights and opportunities that that society provides, and accepting responsibilities towards it. So there we have the approach that multiculturalism is a *goal* to *try* to achieve all those things. This is different from the approach that multiculturalism is simply a reality because of the population mix that we have.

Multiculturalism, it seems to me, is not manifested by the fact that we have a polyethnic society. There are a number of polyethnic societies in the world which I would not call multicultural because they do not have the right attitude which displays these goals. For those who see any polyethnic society as multicultural, South Africa in that sense would be a multicultural society. It certainly consists of a number of cultures, a number of races, but I would say that attitudinally it is certainly not a society which meets the goals of multiculturalism as in the Government's definition, a society which is free of racial tensions, offering security, well-being and equality of opportunity. If we look at this from a linguistic point of view, in South Africa many people speak a number of languages but that does not make them multiculturalists, because those languages are certainly not used to create a basis for shared values and opportunity. The same could be said of the Soviet Union and of many other countries which have polyethnic societies. Therefore, as I said before, to me this is a question of *attitude* not of a physical manifestation and of a *goal* which the society needs to achieve for itself in order to make the polyethnic mix viable.

Whilst there is no formal institutionalised and dominant group in Australia, Anglo-conformism is widely accepted as being dominant, and this can lead to forms of prejudice or discrimination, but so also can differences between ethnic groups themselves lead to forms of prejudice or discrimination between them. Many people feel that they have a right to assume that the newcomer or the minority has less right to be here or to equal opportunity here than have others, because they do not seem to fit in to the mainstream culture, or because they seem to have arrived later and therefore should work their way up to an equal opportunity situation or because they are simply different. I might hasten to add, in Australia I find that prejudice and discrimination is not necessarily very abundant in comparison with other countries, but that does not mean it cannot get worse and it also does not mean that, even if there is little of it, one should not combat it wherever it exists.

So to me, 'multicultural education' is basically 'education for a multicultural society', an education that enables people here or anywhere else to cope with differences, to be non-judgmental about them and to accept the right of other people to their linguistic, cultural and religious expression. That is the goal, to me, of multicultural education. For that reason I do not believe that multicultural education can manifest itself entirely in such things as teaching of community languages, or in such multicultural activities as food and dance sampling of the different groups that are in Australia. All those things are nice, all those things are valuable, but I do not think that they touch the core of what I would mean by an education for a multicultural society.

The introduction of community languages in schools is often regarded as the answer to the requirement for multicultural education. Once we teach community languages we are doing the things that 'are expected' of us. I suggest to you that that is a superficial answer and a superficial approach to the whole question of multiculturalism. History has shown many people who have studied more than one language, often languages which were quite alien to their own cultural background, and yet had not been moved as a result to become better human beings, more tolerant, or less discriminatory. My favourite example of this is Eichman. Eichman, one of the main architects of genocide in the Nazi regime spoke fluent Hebrew. Not only did he speak Hebrew, but he had studied it so well that he could pass himself off culturally as a Jew. He knew a lot about Judaism, and in conversation with Jews could have been mistaken for one of them. Yet this knowledge did not do anything to his attitude about Jews and he was quite happy to exterminate them.

Similarly we can look at the South African example. Most of the Afrikaaners in South Africa speak at least one other language, which is English, not even some African dialect so that they can talk to their 'boys'. Yet if you suggested that that would mean that they should share the values of the other people who live in their country, especially the natives, then I think that they would be very annoyed with you. *So I think that the language learning in itself does not necessarily equip us for the type of multicultural society that we want.* The same goes for understanding about food or some customs or some practices which different cultural groups have. All that might be interesting from an encyclopaedic point of view. It might be quite picturesque and entertaining, but it does not necessarily equip school children to grow up into human beings who have the kind of tolerance and understanding that a multicultural society with the goals that we have defined for it would require.

The question then is how can we educate for a multicultural society if these things are not enough. It is, in my view, necessary to change our approach to multicultural education to progress from where we are at. In my view multicultural education must be the umbrella which covers most subjects in school, not singled out as a particular study area. One can approach almost every subject that is taught in schools from a multicultural point of view. If our curriculum is such that we are used to teaching say literature which basically revolves around the British tradition of literature, then one can expand that and one can introduce the fact that other nations represented in Australia also had great writers, that in comparison with a Shakespeare there was a Goethe, a Voltaire and a Cervantes. In teaching mathematics or sciences, one can expand the environment of the scientific knowledge, the scientific origin from around the different inputs that come from different countries of the world. Newton was not the only one who said something about gravity. Let us also emphasise the contribution of Arabs and Indians to mathematics and physics. And so we can go through every subject. It is very interesting to see history taught as it revolves around the genealogy of British kings, but at the same time parallel events happened elsewhere and great personalities evolved too.

What I am suggesting is that the multicultural input to different subject matter should be expanded and that this should become a matter of course. If that were done, what we might in fact achieve in a much deeper way is an understanding, and I would say a respect for other cultures, and for people who are in Australia from other countries of origin.

That is one approach. The second approach I think is the approach that is required for a special subject, and the special subject I would not call

Multicultural Studies, but I would call *Studies in Humanity,* a subject which for some reason does not fit very well into any of the existing core curriculum subjects that we have. A study in humanity should include aspects of comparative religious studies, comparative cultural aspects and comparative philosophical aspects.

A few years ago in Perth, when I was still a practising Rabbi, I was invited by one of the high schools which was largely populated with Jewish kids to come and take religion classes once a week. Those classes were held at a time when the Anglican minister came in and took the Anglican children and the Catholic priest came in and took the Catholics. I found that situation not just embarrassing but I found it terribly divisive, because the one subject which I feel should teach people to understand *each other* was the subject which was being used to take kids who otherwise were together in one class and separate them, so that possibly in those classes, we the three Ministers of different religions could teach them, not what they had in common, but that which separated them. Therefore, when they came back from those classes a lot of cohesion was destroyed. It is, I feel, a counter productive approach, and I am glad that many schools have dropped R.I. (Religious Instruction). I would not regard it as the state school's responsibility to teach religion in that way. I would regard it as the responsibility of the churches to do that in their Sunday school and in their services. But what I would regard the responsibility of the school to be is to teach comparative religious studies, and not just of the three or four main religions which might be represented in the school, but also of those which are not. Why should Australian children not know something about Hinduism, about Buddhism, or the Sikhs? If that is true of religion, it is also true of the different cultures which are represented in Australia and the same system can be applied.

And finally the language question. I already indicated in a question to Dr. Smolicz my direction of thought in this regard, but of course in a very brief question I could not elaborate so I will do so now. As I said before I do not think that the teaching of community languages necessarily guarantees community harmony, understanding or tolerance. A language can be learned as an academic exercise and it does not necessarily do anything to the personality or to the attitudes or the behaviour patterns of the person speaking it. A language can be learned for practical reasons and does not necessarily mean that it reflects an understanding of the culture from which that language originates. I therefore think that our approach to language teaching should be changed.

I regard it as relatively dangerous to teach community languages in school because such teaching must by nature be selective. Given the resources that are available to us, we can't teach all languages represented in the community and therefore we will probably do the expedient thing and go by the largest number of students from a community. That means, the largest groups in Australia will have community languages taught in schools and others will have to rely totally on the community school. And so, I would recommend, not for reasons of separatism or for reasons of relegation, but for what I would regard as very sound community standing and community harmony reasons, to upgrade ethnic schools and to have all community languages taught in ethnic schools. I find that much more equitable. It will also be necessary to record the achievements of children in ethnic schools on the school certificate so that the child going to an ethnic school has his effort recognised formally and therefore he does something which is of value and is recognised by his peers. Financial assistance (already provided) might require adjustment. Equipment and materials should be provided more easily and in-service training for teachers in ethnic schools should be arranged.

What I would recommend instead to be taught in schools is a number of languages which are offered under the aspect of Australia's national, social and geo-political interests. In other words, I would offer in schools to all children the possibility to choose between a number of Asian languages, and possibly between a number of what we classify as world languages or United Nations languages if you wish. I think children can understand that it would help them and their country if in their future careers they spoke one or more of these languages. All children would meet together in language classes. They would learn languages which are chosen, not because they happen to be spoken by a majority of the population in the area, but because they have a wider value, a value which goes beyond the parochial interest of a particular community.

Those are three areas which in my view we ought to think about in order to achieve the goal of an education for a multicultural society and in order to reach the ideal of being a society which is free of racial tension and which offers security, well-being and equality of opportunity to all those living here. It is the goal of a multicultural society to try to create harmony and not to try to create divisiveness, to try to create a climate of appreciation of that which is different and those who are different without value judging it. We don't necessarily have to like everything that is 'ethnic', but we can at least accept that other people have the right to their cultural expression or their particular peculiarities which are traditional to them. That really is the premise on which a multicultural society can exist. The aim of a multicultural society should be an understanding without being judgmental. This does not mean that all of a sudden we have to accept everything that evolves from other cultures but we can at least accept that it is there with equal rights to that which we ourselves regard as valuable for us. If that is the premise of the multicultural society then I think we can make it successful and I think that that would take us a long way towards achieving a society in which prejudice, resultant discrimination and possibly any form of persecution is kept to a minimum or is eliminated.

Unless we try to achieve those attitudes and goals, multiculturalism is no more than a physical manifestation of many people from different backgrounds living in one country, and that is not enough justification for the effort and the resources we are putting into it.

Erewhon: An Aboriginal School in the Northern Territory

L.M. Powierza

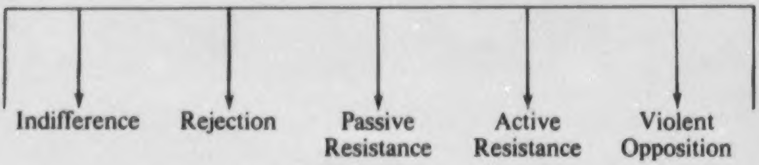
This case study was compiled from original material prepared by Mr. Frank Brennan. It describes a school, called Erewhon for the purposes of anonymity, of which he was formerly Principal. His work clearly demonstrates strategies and procedures to overcome alienation between a school and its community and to achieve harmony and singleness of purpose across cultures. It also shows how fallacious is the conception that Aboriginal adults are disinterested in the education of their children and are incapable of playing a meaningful role in school affairs.

The Setting

The community in which the school functioned consisted of seven hundred and fifty adults and children, fifty of whom were non-Aboriginal. Most of the non-Aboriginal adults occupied executive, managerial or teaching positions and therefore held significant authority and influence over the lives of the Aboriginal people. In the administration of the township, the white minority arrogantly took the dominant role making relations with the black majority tense. The school, catering for students from pre-school to post primary, had an enrolment of two hundred and seventy tribal Aboriginal students ranging in age from three to sixteen. It was staffed by sixteen qualified non-Aboriginal teachers and three Aboriginal teaching assistants.

Prior to 1970 the school and its objectives, policy, organisation, curricula, programs and teaching method reflected middle class, white Australian values and life-style. In line with government policy which promoted Aboriginal integration into mainstream Australian society, the major emphasis of the school program was on skills and attitudes required for life in the dominant society. All school decisions were made by non-Aboriginal teachers holding values, attitudes, and beliefs, and expressing behaviour which, in the main, were diametrically opposite to those of the traditional Aboriginal population. Teachers viewed Aboriginal adults as being disinterested in the education of their children and incapable of playing a meaningful role in school affairs. Most of the non-Aboriginal teachers considered it their exclusive right to make all decisions concerning the school and students. Aboriginal teaching assistants did not attempt to participate in developing or changing school policies.

At Erewhon, parents, home and community were considered by the majority of teachers as being almost irrelevant to the school and its program. Adults were not welcome in the school and had no part to play in their children's schooling. The children were exposed to pressures from two opposite directions. In such an atmosphere parental attitudes to the school progressively worsened. The following continuum shows the form in which dissatisfaction with the school was expressed by Aboriginal parents.



By 1970, when a new Principal was appointed, many of the Aboriginal community had progressed through the varying degees of school dissatisfaction, and had reached the extreme frustration level of violent opposition. The school was repeatedly vandalised, school attendance was abysmal; students, with parent cognisance, openly rejected the school program and caused disorder and mayhem during lessons; and finally, teachers were regularly physically attacked by angry Aboriginal adults. The results of these extreme protest tactics were that staff morale was deplorably low, teachers could not effectively teach and children could not in any way benefit from the school.

A New Direction: A Bicultural Approach

The new Erewhon Principal realised that meaningful communications had to be achieved if the existing negative relationships between school and community, which were preventing the students benefiting from school, were to improve.

An old Erewhon elder, who had been Chairman of the School Council for many years, clarified the direction in which the school should be moving. He rejected the two poles of assimilation/integration and separatism/conflict. A bicultural approach was suggested as an alternative. He believed it to be self-defeating and destructive if our schools are insensitive to, and make no provision for, the essence and uniqueness of Aboriginal culture. In order to achieve a bicultural approach the school would need to take the lead and conscientiously and consistently work towards the development within children of the values, attitudes, knowledge and skills which will enable mainstream Australians and Aboriginals to keep their identity but 'to go the same way'.

Strategies and Processes for Improving Communication

Perhaps the greatest impediment to real communication between tribal Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is the scarcity of topics of mutual interest. Accentuating the problem is that English is very much the second language of Erewhon Aboriginals, and few teachers are fluent in tribal languages. If teachers were to establish a rapport with Aboriginal adults and if the Aboriginal community were to trust and respect teachers, then 'vehicles' allowing authentic dialogue had to be found. The Principal and his staff attempted to improve communication with the surrounding community by the following informal and formal means.

1. Participation in Men's Football and Women's Basketball

Teachers at the school participated in the local men's football and women's basketball teams. These commitments, involving long weekend trips with nights camping on the road, were not recreation for the teachers. They were a means to an end. They were a 'vehicle' through which authentic dialogue between the Aboriginal community and teachers at the school could be established. The communication, the discussion (often about school affairs), which informally took place while training and on trips was to be the foundation on which community involvement was to be built. Evenings sitting around the campfire provided the opportunity for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals to learn to know each other, to communicate meaningfully.

2. Hunting and Camping Expeditions

Several teachers regularly went hunting and camping with Aboriginal family groups. These excursions provided the opportunity for Aboriginal men and women to fill the dominant leadership role, as tribal Aboriginals are hunters and food gatherers 'par excellence'. It was of particular importance for the Aboriginals to fill the dominant role, as generally in their dealings with white Australians they had always been forced to take the subordinate role. Valuable discussion, real enjoyment and deep insight into each other resulted.

3. Individual Contact

Once teachers showed they welcomed and respected Aboriginal opinion, suggestions, and discussion on school matters, it became apparent how vitally concerned parents and other Aboriginal adults were in the schooling and education of the children.

A staff decision made it school policy that Aboriginal adults were to be actively encouraged to visit classrooms at any time of the day. Every day became an 'open day'. While adult visitors did interrupt formal school lessons, the positive influence from such genuine community involvement was immeasurable.

4. Community-School Socials

Regular barbecues for school staff and members of the community were held. These functions were to promote friendship, mutual respect, understanding and communication in an informal atmosphere.

5. Utilisation of School Facilities

Staff made it policy to encourage Aboriginal adults and groups to utilise school facilities as often as possible. Various clubs and groups regularly used classrooms (band, sporting clubs, Village Council, etc.), and of most value, young and old men and women (mainly unemployed) began to 'sit down' in the school grounds, to visit classrooms and the library because they had nothing else to do, and they felt welcome in the school. As this mostly occurred during school hours, many adults became acquainted with and knowledgeable about what students and teachers were doing.

The school library was opened each evening for use by adults.

6. Aboriginal Ceremonies

Because of the mutual respect and trust which developed through communication, Aboriginal elders eventually invited certain teachers to non-sacred and sacred ceremonies. The sharing of Aboriginal culture with teachers established a solidarity which ensured community support for the school.

7. School-Community Meetings

The major formal method of promoting communication between school and community, was regular 'Adult Meetings' involving parents, other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal adults and school staff. In the past Aboriginal adults had been criticised by teachers for not attending school functions. The reason was often lack of information rather than lack of interest. It was a major priority of the Principal to verbally advise each family when and where meetings were to be held. Written communications were not functional as most older Aboriginal adults were illiterate. Adult meetings were extremely well attended and matters of real educational and school significance, including school strengths and weaknesses, were discussed. Tribal elders, parents, Village Councillors, young men and women, as well as school staff, addressed the crowd. Dialogue and debate between speaker and audience regularly occurred.

Special Challenges for Non-Aboriginal Teachers of Aboriginal Children

If a school is functioning as a true educational community, it must take into consideration the individual differences, cognitive, affective, physical, cultural and social, of the children for whom it caters. Each feature of the school as a community, its purposes, aims and objectives, curriculum, relationships between staff members, between teachers and children, and between school and community, the school and classroom climate, and especially the teaching methodology must be sensitively and flexibly adapted to the special needs of the children. The failure of the majority of schools with large Aboriginal enrolments to develop such a community is perhaps the major reason why so many Aboriginal children are not coping.

Western and Aboriginal value, motive and goal structures differ markedly. Principals and teachers must come to terms with the different, and in some cases the diametrically opposite, value, motive and goal structure characteristic of many Aboriginal children and adults in comparison with those of us from a Western social and cultural background. A student, for example, who is past or present oriented and who values material acquisition significantly less than a middle-class Australian youngster, will, in all probability, develop different school aspirations from one who is strongly future and materialistically oriented. Similarly, a child who is strongly affiliative will work diligently at school for different reasons from the child who has a high need for achievement. It is, of course, obvious that not all Aboriginal people will develop similar values and motives.

Development of Community Involvement at Erewhon

In 1970 there had been, at best, only token community involvement at Erewhon, with the majority of parents actively expressing their hostility to the school. The strategies outlined resulted in improved levels of communication and an increased awareness of both teachers and Aboriginal adults of the real needs of the students. This made possible a high degree of consultation at the policy and curriculum levels, and some community participation in the school program (e.g. men and women began teaching art and craft to students in the school).

It quickly became apparent, however, that if the Aboriginal community were totally to accept and support the school and to continue and increase their involvement in its programs, more than consultation and minor participation were required. It must be remembered that the values, attitudes and aspirations for students, of teachers and parents were built on disparate social and cultural foundations. If the school was to be anything more than superficial 'whiteman's business' the community needed to accept final responsibility for their children and the type of education they were to receive.

Discussion between the Principal, staff and the Aboriginal community resulted in the tribal elders appointing a group of ten respected men and women to work with the Principal in dealing with school affairs. This all-Aboriginal School Council was chosen by traditional Aboriginal means and therefore had the mandate to speak for the community on all school matters. Initially the Principal and teachers viewed this Council as advisory and consultative. As the Council developed in confidence and expertise and the Principal became more sensitive to the desires of the community, the role of the Council progressively expanded to that of the final decision-making body on all school matters which interested the community.

Staff uneasiness with the all pervading authority of the School Council was alleviated and confidence increased when it became apparent that the Council did not interfere with the professional responsibilities of classroom teaching programs and the development of Western curriculum, but directed its energies to overall school philosophy, policy and the introduction of Aboriginal studies. There were, however, few facets of the school which were not influenced positively by the School Council.

A few examples follow.

1. Aboriginal culture became an integral part of the school program rather than an occasional extra-curricular activity. Community resources, human and material, were generously made available.
2. The School Council argued that initiation ceremonies were part of a young man's education. The Department of Education's acceptance of this had far-reaching consequences. Although initiates were out of a normal school program for more than twelve months, the federal *Aboriginal Secondary Grant Scheme* was still applicable to students and parents. By winning this point, the Erewhon School Council

legitimised the inclusion of Aboriginal culture in the programs of all schools in the Northern Territory.

3. Although the Principal and staff supported the introduction of a bilingual program for educational reasons, the School Council refused on tribal grounds. If one of the three major Aboriginal languages was selected as the language of instruction, the school would have lost the support of a significant proportion of the community.
4. The School Council presented a verbal submission to the Federal Minister for Education which resulted in a remarkable increase in the teaching assistant establishment. At Erewhon, postions increased from three to twelve.

From 1973 onwards the School Council met weekly. Meetings were called by Council members as well as the Principal. Rarely was a member absent. Indicative of its strength is the fact that the Council made a number of decisions against the vehement arguments of the Principal, teachers and departmental officers. Such resolution of purpose is commendable when the tradition of imposed, white dominance is considered. The Council proved it was sincerely committed to helping the children and school, and would only decide on issues which were meaningful to the Aboriginal community. Decisions made were always responsible, and usually proved correct.

Evaluation

Informal and subjective evaluation revealed that:

(i) Staff morale improved dramatically.

(ii) Teacher turnover declined markedly.

(iii) While not all teachers had the same educational philosophy or commitment to community involvement, all worked together as a team, and accepted School Council decisions. Most teachers energetically encouraged the community to participate in their class programs.

(iv) School staff meetings were attended by teachers and teaching assistants (always one hundred per cent), and healthy discussion took place. The majority of internal school decisions were made by staff consensus at these meetings.

(v) School attendance (yearly average) increased from 60.2 per cent to 94.8 per cent. (Department of Education, Northern Territory, Enrolment and Attendance Returns, 1968 and 1973.)

(vi) Vandalism to school buildings ceased.

(vii) The attendance at school-community meetings was excellent. Well over one hundred and fifty adults usually attended.

(viii) Community resources were made available:

(a) teachers for Aboriginal culture
(b) teachers for Aboriginal languages
(c) coaches for school sporting teams
(d) physical support for school festivals
(e) construction of shade shelters in the school grounds with voluntary labour
(f) generous financial support.

(ix) Disciplinary problems rarely occurred and student behaviour and morale improved dramatically.

(x) Due to the community's increasing confidence in the school and the educative process, more students than ever before were kept at secondary school by parents.

(xi) Aboriginal staff positions grew to twelve teaching assistants, one trained teacher and five industrial workers. These staff members increasingly participated in school affairs.

(xii) There was a complete cessation of black/white animosity. (Naturally disagreements and differences of opinion occurred, but physical violence and therefore fear no longer existed.)

(xiii) Erewhon became a happy community in which to live, and the school a rewarding place to work.

The Principal's priorities of open leadership and the positive encouragement of community involvement gained community support, and improved the climate and program of the school markedly. The obvious benefit to the school children at Erewhon resulted in community involvement being actively fostered in schools in other Aboriginal communities. Not all schools, of course, could or needed to embody community decision-making into their school policies.

It is firmly believed that a collegial leadership model, genuine staff participation in all facets of the school, and authentic community involvement, must profit the school program and the students in any community in a multicultural society such as Australia.

Care must constantly be taken that our schools, not only in Aboriginal communities but throughout Australia, reflect and promote the multicultural nature of present day Australian society. This is particularly pertinent to the Northern Territory where the population is especially diverse in composition. Such ethnic minorities as Chinese, Vietnamese, Italian, Greek and the cultural minority of tribal, rural and urban Aboriginals form a significant percentage of the Northern Territory population. Schools must resist becoming specifically oriented towards meeting the needs of only one particular group, whether that group be mainstream Australian or ethnic or cultural minority. Each child must be considered an important component of the school community with something valuable and unique to offer.

Community and Curriculum*

The Strelley Experience from a European** Viewpoint

J.R. Bucknall

Since its inception in 1976 the school at Strelley Station in the Port Hedland region of Western Australia's Pilbara has provided a model and inspiration for bilingual education and community involvement that has been followed by a number of the other station communities in the Pilbara and the Kimberley.

In order to comply with the legal requirements involved in establishing and attracting funds to an independent school, the Nomads group of Aborigines established the Nomads Charitable and Educational Foundation (N.C.E.F.) in the early 1970s. Registered under the Western Australia Charities Act, the Foundation's constitution ensures that the ideals and interests of a traditionally-oriented Aboriginal community, determined to pursue a policy of self-determination and self-management, are fully supported. The Foundation also provides a facility for the recruiting of teachers and the drawing up of contracts designed to protect the interests of teachers and the community.

Schools supported by the N.C.E.F. are now located at Strelley, Camp Sixty-one (on the rabbit-proof fence aproximately fifty miles N.E. Jigalong), Warralong and Kulkarraya Community School (Noonkanbah).

Authority over the daily running of the schools resides in school committees. These committees determine the division of adults and children into appropriate groupings, the positioning of all school activities, the selection of adults to work as teachers with white personnel and the approval or rejection of proposed teaching programs, curricula and teaching materials.

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* From *The Aboriginal Child at School, 10*(1), 16-23, 1982.

** Throughout this article people of European descent are referred to as Europeans or whitefellas and people of Aboriginal descent and custom are often referred to as Marrngu.

The communities have continually emphasised four areas they want the school to respect and support:

1. The social customs of the people.
2. The religion of the people (Aboriginal Law).
3. The major local languages.
4. The local economy.

Some years ago the teacher linguist at Yuendumu, a school in the Northern Territory, produced a simple but very telling parable which was subsequently published in a 1979 issue of *The Aboriginal Child at School.*

In this parable he recounted the confusing and contradictory experiences faced by a child during his first day at school. This not unfamiliar story was turned upside down by introducing a little European pre-schooler to his new Warlpiri teacher.

To introduce the theme of this article, Community and Curriculum, I can't do better than to recall the concluding portion of his parable which sums up the unfortunate situation the child was confronted with.

> Some years ago, when the view was still widely accepted that Johnny, being English (European), belonged to a race of such low intelligence that he was impossible to educate, he would not have been here at all. After all, his language is the basis of a culture of materialism, chaos, self-destruction and greed. Later, however, it was recognized that Johnny did have an intellectual capacity to learn skills, and that if he is provided with a well-trained, patient, self-sacrificing teacher, he may be taught a better way of life. It is now hoped that, in this enlightened day and age, Johnny and his people recognize the privileged position in which they find themselves and take full advantage of the education that is offered them. Johnny will be taught in, and learn, the language of the superior culture, be thoroughly indoctrinated in a new religion, and taught acceptable ways of behaviour. Of course, this does not mean that Johnny has to completely give up all aspects of his previous life-style. Some of the products the Europeans make, the songs they sing, the paintings and sculptures they create, can come in very useful and are often very attractive. But the important factor remains, that Johnny's people were originally immigrants, and it is their moral duty to accept the culture of the true Australians.
>
> (P. Buschenhofen, 1979)

To further emphasise the point contained in this parable I am reminded of an incident that occurred recently.

I was driving back from one of the camps on Strelley Station when I happened to turn on the car radio thinking it was time to catch the half past one news.

I was a bit late, however, and instead of the latest on the Razor Gang or a blow by blow on the Springbok tour I found myself listening to a Schools Music Broadcast. In beautifully modulated and carefully enunciated middle-standard English we were all stepping gently into a narrow gondola, grasping a heavy wooden oar in our hands and setting out to discover the delights of Venice.

Nicely produced, well presented and as culturally relevant to a child from a traditionally-oriented Aboriginal community as a refrigerator would be materially relevant to an Eskimo in mid-winter.

After switching off (the radio that is) I spent the remainder of the drive home thinking, yet again, about the old vexed question of what on earth are we teaching and why? Sure, for my own children there might be some relevance and insights to be gained from a knowledge and experience of the rich and complex heritage contained in renaissance Italy. I suppose it is even possible that modern Italian politics may contain valuable lessons for an Aboriginal community to learn but for a child growing up in a traditionally-oriented community, songs about gondolas in sunny Italy say little and teach nothing about their present human condition and opportunities for the future.

This is, of course, an extreme example which will most likely be countered by a vague and generalised claim that I'm suggesting that Marrngu want nothing to do with Whitefella ways and that they do in fact want education for their children. That this claim contains an element of truth is not denied. What is denied, however, is the assumption by many people concerned with Aboriginal education who make such claims that they are in a position to go on and delineate in their own terms and, on the basis of their own values, determine the strategy for delivering this education.

In the old, simpler days, it was assumed that papa always knows best and the question of what constitutes a relevant education for Aboriginal people was rarely considered. In more recent and hopefully enlightened times the question of relevance has been theoretically brought to the forefront in considering strategies and materials to be used in Aboriginal education.

Unfortunately, however, the old basic assumptions still persist in a somewhat disguised form. That is, the position that Aboriginal communities require relevant education is accepted but consideration and determination of what is relevant still rests with initiators whose basic interests, life-style and viewpoint lie outside the experience and requirements of traditional groups. Claims that genuine consultation with Aboriginal communities takes place are, for the most part, fairly hollow when viewed against a backdrop of a growing resentment towards white-dominated institutions whose basic failure is evidenced by less than satisfactory attendance figures, little real parental support and involvement in such institutions and the presence of large numbers of semi-educated Marrngu youth seeking employment with a meaningful lifestyle on the settlements and urban fringes of much of Northern Australia.

My view is that there has not been enough of the quiet, non-obtrusive long-term listening to Marrngu hopes and aspirations. The most effective consultation is often expressed in a language other than English where a literal translation may rob the original words of their inner meaning and true intent.

This type of listening, which does, despite the odds against it, take place in a number of places throughout Australia, seems to me to indicate that Marrngu, particularly traditionally-oriented communities, do, as suggested above, want education for themselves and their children. In many instances, however, their concept of education is something different from what has been called *school* in the past.

One thing that clearly emerges from such consultation is a growing awareness of the hidden curriculum contained in materials used in past and present schools. Another feature of past and current educational practice that is being increasingly rejected by communities is the system whereby the brightest and the best (and lately anyone who will go) are removed from their family and community to physically and culturally remote residential schools/colleges/technical centres.

Some communities are also actively rejecting the notion that it is they, the Marrngu, who have failed the school system and are actively questioning the institutions we call school with a view to shifting the blame back onto such institutions for failing to recognise and meet the particular educational needs of that community.

To balance this latter viewpoint there have been, in recent years, a number of concessions made to such communities in the increasing employment of Aboriginal aides, training of Aboriginal teachers, the provision of sensitivity type courses for white teachers entering Aboriginal schools and research into and the development of appropriate teaching materials etc. Nevertheless, all these activities tend to beg the initial important question of what it is all for.

If we take the case of Aboriginal aides we find that a major justification for the employment of such people is to encourage self-esteem and to improve communication between white teachers and the students. We might find, however, that such a move is in fact counter productive, especially if it is the latter aim that takes precedence.

This is especially the case if, in a large traditionally-oriented community, a few aides are selected to support and bolster a structure for which the community feels, at best, an indifference and, at worst, an active hostility. There are created, then, even further painful discontinuities in the students and the community.

As this article has tended to present an increasingly pessimistic point of view it is perhaps appropriate to devote the second half to the viewpoint of a traditional community who have, over the previous six years, consistently worked at the questions and problems of what is involved in providing relevant education.

Central to this experience has been a growing concern and involvement in the development of the schools' curriculum as part of the communities' overall responsibility for the schools' operation (i.e. staffing, organisation and administration).

For the Strelley and associated communities (including the many like-minded), school should be the following:

1. *In the first place a school should form an integral part of the community.* It should be contained within the community, supporting, meeting and reflecting the community's needs and aspirations and, most importantly, its perception of itself. This is, after all, what a school in a Western industrialised society should be, an instrument for cultural continuity and growth!

It is self evident, but still has to be stated, that a traditionally-oriented Aboriginal community is going to be different in many significant ways from that of a small rural town (the closest possible physical comparison that I can think of). From the obvious to the not so obvious. From the child's first language to the manner and style of his relationships with other people to the tangible and intangible values underlying his religious beliefs that tie him to his land and birthright. Education should be about the knowledge and affirmation of all these things.

2. *Secondly, a school should harmonise with its clients' life-style and perception of self.* In the past, in most instances, school has represented a contradiction (dissonance) between itself and the language and the values of the home. The language of the home should, at the very least, be the initial language of the school. To say otherwise is to deny a fundamental human right.

3. *Thirdly, a school should provide the community with an opportunity to grow from within.* Just as education has always had as its prime function, the effective passing on of past knowledge and experience, it also has allowed (in a formalised sense) for growth and new directions.

While the first two points I have made fit closely into the observed pattern of both traditional and contemporary Marrngu life-style and beliefs, this latter point introduces issues of complexity, particularly where it concerns curriculum development.

It is fashionable and no doubt anthropologically correct to refer to Marrngu communities as 'closed societies' and this concept is often conveniently used to explain the failure of the Marrngu to adapt to and adopt white institutions. This concept does not, however, fit neatly with the actions of the particular group that is the source of information of this article. Following the disorientation brought about by the pastoral invasion of the Pilbara (and I use the term *invasion* deliberately with plenty of hard evidence to back me up) and the regrouping of a community around an initial central issue, the 1946 strike, the community has never allowed anyone the comfort of generalisation and stereotype.

On numerous occasions the community has adapted outside forms to suit ancient practices and in some instances created new social and economic systems to maintain their Aboriginality. The setting up and subsequent development of an independent school is a good example of such an initiative. Implicit in this move was a perception by the community that there was a need to maintain authority and control over this key element affecting their future lives.

The community as a whole clearly understood the close relationship between what is taught, how it is taught and who teaches it and the current cohesion and future direction of the community.

For this reason the schools were established on the understanding that they would teach initial literacy, both for adults and school-age children, in the languages of the constituent members of that community.

It was also clearly understood that such a program would depend heavily on a growing involvement by Aboriginal people in the formal teaching process and that the development of teaching materials would rely heavily on local input. In particular it was realised that the development of curriculum materials must support Aboriginal values and the social fabric (classificatory kinship system) of the community.

The obvious question that now arises is to what extent have the expectations of the community been met by the structures they created?

Clearly initial literacy in the mother tongue has had a beneficial psychological effect. Six years' experience in the program clearly demonstrates the reinforcement of identity and feelings of self-esteem.

Also, from a subjective point of view, the increasing involvement of Aboriginal people at all generation levels in the grass roots planning and design of curriculum materials has had a far-reaching effect on the group's perception of itself.

Involvement of this magnitude has taken a number of different forms. With the teaching of initial literacy in Nyangumarta and Manjiljarra the teaching materials contain local experience as expressed by members of the two language groups. From simple pre-reading activities through to initial readers the materials present Aboriginal people and situations. With increasing sophistication in the vernacular literacy program there has developed an increasing need for diversity and volume in reading materials. This is being met by the printing of personal past histories, past events involving the group, current events and viewpoints etc. Health manuals including the use of traditional medicines, explanations of voting procedures and explanations of current events such as the census are examples of this type of material.

Initially much of this material was transcribed from tapes, prepared for printing and printed by Whitefellas employed by the community. There has, however, been a marked and fairly dramatic shift over the last two years away from Whitefella expertise and involvement in this area as various training schemes have come to fruition. With increasing confidence and expertise much of the material is now being directly collected, recorded and printed by the Marrngu. The stage has now been reached where Marrngu literacy workers are preparing reports, recording their own and other people's points of view, reminiscences, etc., in the two languages currently in use. Increasingly older people are involved in expressing ideas and opinions as to the format and context of materials used in the school.

The community newsletter, *Mikurrunya,* is a good example of involvement of the community in developing expertise and control over new forms of media.

The employment of Aboriginal teachers and the development of a locally-based on-site Teacher Education program as an essential component in the delivery of a community monitored curriculum have also had a highly desirable impact on the community. Marrngu are seen as essential to the process, while involvement in literature production, etc., has deepened the community's appreciation and awareness of themselves as worthwhile people.

From an educational base, such as the one being created at Strelley and associated schools, planning for an Aboriginal future takes on a new dimension and sense of purpose.

Reference

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Schools of Considerable Ethnic Mix: A Multicultural Education Response in the ACT

Ann Logan

Most programs believe that they can help to define new personal and group identities, perhaps bicultural or integrated multicultural identities; they accept that they can, and should, teach tolerance, acceptance and understanding of the values and life styles of very diverse religious, political and ethnic groups; that they can, and may, develop a bi or multilingual society. But we would have very few schools which consider their aim is to transform themselves into a multicultural institution.

I often ask myself, and I try to get teachers to ask themselves, the question:

> How do you prepare a child in a multi-ethnic school to become a member of a harmonious multicultural society?

The sum total of all the learned documents, policies and papers which address this issue do not easily translate, even for the most clearsighted and creative teachers, into strategies for curriculum development. There still seems to be a huge gap between the educational philosophy of multicultural education and the practice.

It is my experience that the most important factor in all multicultural programs is undoubtedly the *quality* of the teacher. The teacher creates the environment, unfolds the learning experiences, and in every attitude of communication the child knows whether or not the teacher is saying:

> You are important, people are important, your past and future and all your friends are important. It is important that you contribute something to life and that you learn to understand and cope with life's experiences.

If this basic quality is absent then the best devised multicultural program will sound hollow and seem irrelevant to the child.

Secondly, the best multicultural programs all have teachers who are able to provide and lead children to discover as Joseph Bronowski did, 'the ascent of man', to understand how man from age to age has remade his environment and contributed to his own cultural evolution. Many schools find MACOS — *Man: a course of study* — one such strategy in opening children's eyes to the cultural evolution of a people whose values, beliefs, and customs have fitted them for survival. Six years' teaching on the top of the Rift Valley in Tanzania gave me an appreciation of another value system. There I saw human qualities uncluttered by Western nationalism. I saw real deprivation and the poignant meaning of survival. I realised too that our own group, our own country, and our own culture is not always the best or the most moral.

> Wonders are many and none is more wonderful than man.
>
> (Sophicles)

This is the beginning to education, and indeed to multicultural education.

There is no single multicultural program, no single approach, and no patent curriculum which should be considered more suitable than another, but the most effective programs involve a network of people and aim to develop children's real experiences of their environment. The Ethnic Schools Liaison Officer in the A.C.T. is compiling for publication a network of people who can contribute as a resource to a variety of intercultural programs in order to share experiences and feelings, hopes and aspirations in our multicultural society. When you hear a Laotian boy talking to students about half his family who were clubbed to death because they had insufficient money to pay the boatman, then you cannot but be convinced that people are the best resource.

A new primary school was established in the A.C.T. three years ago, in a middle to low socio-economic area. The population comprised mostly young families, many of whom are of non-English speaking background. Teachers found that it was difficult to include these parents, even in the early exuberant establishment period. Community involvement is an important part of the school's philosophy. The E.S.L. teachers visited the homes of the non-English speaking students, in an attempt to invite parents to school activities. They had only knocked on a few doors when they realised that many mothers were isolated by lack of language and fear of the unknown. The teachers' first response, in order to bridge the gap, was the development of 'take-home bags', with simple English instruction programs. Coffee mornings were established and very soon the local T.A.F.E. College agreed to move its English courses to the school for parents and grandparents. They would come with the children to school but could not be persuaded to attend the local T.A.F.E. College.

It seemed apparent that a total school multicultural approach was also necessary to ensure acceptance and appreciation of the many and varied groups within the school.

At first an intercultural studies program was organised for one hour each week, when all children in the school opted to study and meet with members of various ethnic groups within their immediate community.

The parents of the coffee club assisted teachers in the implementation of this program during 1981. The focus in Years 2 to 4 was the experiences of a child in a particular culture, and in Years 5 and 6 on migration and Australian development issues.

This program was repeated each term with the children rotating by choice to a different cultural study. As a result of the increased confidence of the non-English speaking parents involved with the program, many of these parents soon joined the workforce. Some staff were initially hesitant about their involvement, but the contact with various members of the ethnic communities gave them confidence in developing, subsequently, aspects within their own integrated program.

This year the Year 5 and 6 classes have undertaken a sociological study of their area, and are developing their own audio-visual case studies of five Maribyrnong families modelled on the Curriculum Development Centre's approach to seventeen Australian families.

At the beginning of 1981 a significant step was taken by the school, supported by the Schools Authority, in obtaining a teacher from Yugoslavia at no expense to the Australian government or the school system on the basis of a Commonwealth cultural agreement with that country. In order to keep various factions happy, both Serbian and Croatian are taught to children from those backgrounds as well as to significant numbers of Australian children in the school. This has proved to be so successful that this teacher is now being shared with other feeder primary schools and plans are underway to gain more Serbo-Croatian bilingual mainstream staff.

System policy now gives support and encouragement to the development of multicultural education and has made a policy statement that:

> there is educational and cultural value in giving all children the opportunity to learn a language in addition to English or the mother tongue, from the early primary years. It endorses the implementation of a variety of bilingual second language/early start programs, where feasible, according to local needs.

What has this multi-faceted multicultural program achieved?

The outcomes appear to be advantageous, both multiculturally and educationally. There is a strong wish by the staff and community to continue developing multicultural aspects throughout the curriculum and to continue with the language program. It is the considered opinion of the staff that non-English speaking background students have gained in general language ability and self-concept. The program has definitely improved community participation and school relations.

Resourcing such programs has not been a real difficulty with the MEAC administered Schools Commission funds. Changes in staff have required a constant review of approaches and it is not always easy to provide continuity. At present I am involved in negotiations with feeder primary schools and the local high school in order to plan over the next two years for the continuation of Serbo/Croatian into the high school. Perhaps the most telling evidence as to the success of this multicultural program is revealed through comments written voluntarily on a survey of parent opinion:

> We feel sure that the program will be beneficial both to the community and the children in the long run.
>
> Edward has a Greek father, so it is important to me that he understands and appreciates different ethnic societies, and does not become intolerant towards others.
>
> People learn to be more tolerant with people like me. I am human too, like them.
>
> I like my kids feeling proud of me, instead of feeling I am not good because I have been born in another country.

I have watched this program and this school since its first planning operation. They have had a golden opportunity to incorporate into the school's CORE, views and perspectives which accurately reflect present realities and point towards options for future interrelationship and unity.

The Australian International Independent School (AIIS), Sydney

Case Study of a School where the Children are Predominantly Anglo-Saxon

Bill Eason

The Australian International Independent School (A.I.I.S.) is situated in Talavera Road, North Ryde, New South Wales. It was established in 1970. It is run as a non profit making company. Members of the company have a limited liability and the right to elect the School Council, which has a minimum of three and a maximum of ten members. The Chairman of the Council is the Headmaster who is automatically a member of the Council. He has full control of the policy and the administration of the school. The Headmaster is William John Eason A.M. B.A., more commonly known as Bill Eason. He joined the New South Wales Department of Education in 1927. He served for forty-two years as a teacher of English and Modern History and as Headmaster of St. Mary's High School (ten years) and of Ku-ring-gai High School (four years).

A.I.I.S. began in 1970 as a Senior School with thirty-two students in Year 11. It ran for seven years with an average enrolment of one hundred and thirty. It enrolled Years 7 and 8 in 1977. It now runs as a full co-educational secondary school registered as an 'Approved School' with the New South Wales Department of Education and following the courses necessary for the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate Examinations.

It has, in 1982, an enrolment of one hundred and eighty students with ninety-eight in the junior school and eighty-two in the senior school. There are five classes in the junior school, two being in Year 7. Classes are based on an enrolment of twenty students. Classes in Years 11 and 12 are based on groups of fifteen. Some are a little bigger; some are smaller. Classes are unstreamed. The students are not in a traditional competitive situation. They are competing only with themselves, constantly striving to improve their *own* standard.

The School Council currently has a lease of about four acres of land and a building at West Head Road, Terrey Hills. In 1983 it hopes to establish, on this site, a centre of learning for people of all ages.

A.I.I.S. is based on three influences:

1. The life and the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, of Albert Schweitzer and of Rabindranath Tagore.

2. The Tagore school — Visva Bharati (Where the World has a Single Nest).

3. The Atlantic College.

- From Gandhi, it took the concepts of one world and of the power of the spirit.
- From Tagore it took the concept:

  The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day,
  Runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures.
- From Schweitzer, it took the emphasis on the dignity, the strength and the duty of the individual and the emphasis on service.
- From the Atlantic College, it took the idea of a Senior College bringing together students from many nations.

Social Setting

In much of its pattern of behaviour, the school has developed out of its original enrolment of senior students who came to it, not because of its international outlook or its philosophy of the unity of life and the fellowship of man, but because they wished to escape from some of the rigidities and formalities of other state and private (government and non-government) schools. Something of the same outlook has applied to some teachers who sought employment at the school.

School uniform, compulsory sport, formal assemblies, discipline by punishment, formal relationship with teachers — these found no support in the first seven years at the school. A pattern was developed which has become part of the whole school. It has its strength and its weakness. There is much affection, relaxation and goodwill; there is some shoddiness.

Many of the younger children come from small 'progressive' schools. There is no selective entry. There is some remedial work done. Parents are commonly in professional, executive, business, middle and higher income groups and have .to be able to pay school fees of about two thousand dollars per year.

Multicultural Programs

The International Studies course at A.I.I.S. has been developed over the past six years as a compulsory four year course in global studies for Years 7 to 10. The course is being established to fulfil several objectives. They fall into two broad categories: those concerned with increasing the students' awareness of the world, and those dealing with language skills. The 'awareness' objectives aim to encourage students to think internationally, to believe we are one world and one interdependent people, that being different is not being wrong. We aim to develop a sense of understanding of cultural differences and similarities, to encourage greater tolerance and to increase their self-understanding by developing increased sensitivity towards others. The language objectives concentrate on developing clarity of thought and written expression, comprehension and spelling skills and the ability to distinguish fact from opinion, prejudice from bias.

The International Studies course is an amalgam of many subject areas.

As the need arises, it draws on art, literalism, psychology, sociology, history, geography, music, geology, biology, anthropology, archeology and political science. It cannot be static, as it must maintain validity. Course work is therefore revised each year. In rapidly changing societies, such as those in Africa, this does involve an extra in-put on the part of the teacher, but to fulfil the aim of teaching about events now and why they have come about, it is essential. Each year has a different area of emphasis. In Year 7, as the level of ignorance of the world of the incoming students is profound, we concentrate on extending location knowledge. The emphasis for the year is on the Pacific, South and Central America. Year 8 concentrates on Africa, Year 9 on Asia (from Lebanon to Japan) and Year 10 on North America, Europe and the USSR. We have developed some classroom games and simulations which help extend location knowledge. Whatever the area of emphasis, there is extensive use of contemporary accounts. Teaching methods are flexible. The sole teacher does not conceal her own opinion on topics but stresses — and the kids chant it — NEVER ACCEPT ONE PERSON'S OPINION. They learn not to. Opposing viewpoints are presented in worst areas — e.g. Israel and the PLO both send speakers. Last year the South African Consul came. So did a black South African medico.

The International Studies course poses several problems. The difficulty in updating information is great. No textbooks are used — the teacher prepares content 'booklets' for assignments from a variety of weekly or monthly publications. This is time-consuming, but the effort is worthwhile because the course content is always relevant to the world situation. Remembering the basic aim of increasing awareness of the REAL world, the course tries to train students in evaluating opinions from all political spectra. Because politics, multinationals, and diplomacy play such a role in the real world, but not in our perceived immediate world, the teacher is open to criticism of indoctrination or bias, or lack of balance.

Decisions on Such Programs

The decision to establish such programs came out of the stated aim of the school:

> . . . to develop an awareness of the growth of a world society and a realisation of the speed of that growth in the years since 1945.

The programs are based on school policy; their structure and implementation are the work of Mrs. Jenny Burnley.

Problems Experienced and Plans to Overcome Them

The main problems experienced have been:

1. The shortage of material especially at an up-to-date level.
2. The problem of preparing material at different levels to meet the needs of unstreamed classes.
3. The problem of employing teachers who have the conviction, the skill and the knowledge necessary for the presentation of the courses.

Evaluation of the Programs

Macquarie University Education Department surveyed the International Studies students to see whether the stated aim of the International Studies was being achieved. The teacher of International Studies stressed that she believed it would not be possible to really know this until we saw what values and attitudes current students passed on to *their* children. However, from the questionnaire results — which tried to assess awareness, understanding, tolerance and a sense of responsibility, it would appear that most students of International Studies believe the course is valuable in laying the foundations for open-minded thinking and in developing a framework for world citizenship.

Conclusion

A.I.I.S. has a motto: Awareness, Responsibility, Involvement

I believe that the International Studies programs have had considerable success in developing much awareness and in establishing a sense of responsibility and of involvement in the task of 'the care and maintenance of a small planet'.

The matriculation requirements in Years 11 and 12 allow for a course in General Studies. It is possible to adapt this course to carry on, to some extent, the work at present being done in Years 7, 8, 9 and 10. Here is a task for the future.

A.I.I.S. 1982: ENROLMENTS

Total Enrolment		180
Students born outside Australia		35
Parents born outside Australia:		
(a) both	39	
(b) father only	27	
(c) mother only	16	82

Nationalities represented:

New Zealand
South Africa
Canada
USA
Denmark

Sweden
Estonia
Latvia
Switzerland
Germany

China
Malaysia (2)
India
Indonesia (6)
Hong Kong (1)

England
Scotland
Wales
Ireland
} Approximately sixty parents from United Kingdom

Other places of birth: (student or parent)

Syria
Peru

Egypt
Pakistan

Iran
Lebanon

St. John's Greek Orthodox College, Melbourne

Alex McKnight

This school is claimed to be the first fully-registered Greek Orthodox day school in Australia, and opened in 1979 in North Carlton with sixty nine students from Preparatory to Year 7. The opening of the College was the culmination of some years of pressure from members of the Greek Orthodox Community and the work of the priest of the North Carlton parish. Although parents were very keen for a Greek Orthodox College to be established it appears that there may have been some initial suspicion that the school would be a short lived experiment. In a sense therefore the school was on trial during the first year. However the College apparently proved itself to the Greek community and in 1980 the enrolment was over one hundred and eighty.

The increased enrolment in 1980 led to extreme pressure on accommodation and the College rented space from a Catholic school nearby.

In 1981 the enrolment increased again to over five hundred. Of this number, one hundred and eighty were primary and three hundred and fifty secondary. The school is currently divided between two campuses. The secondary section is located in the original buildings in North Carlton and the junior school is located in a collection of relocatable buildings on vacant land leased from the Education Department in North Fitzroy. At the time of writing, the relocatables have no power connected, there are no telephones, and the toilet block at present consists of a number of mobile 'supa loos'.

However, the school has purchased a large site in Preston and current plans are for the primary school to be completed as stage one of the new school by the middle of 1983. The new school is designed to make maximum use of the historic buildings on the site and to be built around the focal points of the chapel and agora.

The unsatisfactory accommodation of the primary school is seen as a result of the almost overwhelming demand for places. The difficulties the primary school is facing at present will be resolved when the new building is ready. Certainly the new building is awaited just as eagerly by parents as by staff.

Status: St. John's is a registered school, and all members of staff are bilingual in Greek and English.

Funding: In addition to the normal recurrent grants, the College receives support from the Greek Orthodox Community. The Greek Education Department provides some funding for teachers' salaries and supplies text-books.

Fees: The fees are currently seven hundred dollars per year, and are kept as low as possible to ensure that the College is not seen as providing an education for the 'elite'.

Social Setting: Students at the school come from a wide range of social backgrounds. Some parents are doctors, solicitors, teachers and successful business people. At the same time some parents are labourers, process workers and other unskilled workers.

The school is conscious of the sacrifices some parents have made to send their children to the College and decisions on fees and uniforms are carefully considered.

The students come from all over Melbourne, from traditionally high-migrant density inner suburbs as well as from the more established eastern suburbs. Three bus services operate to bring students to the school and one family drives students from Narre Warren each day.

Curriculum: The school offers a bilingual program in the junior primary section. For preparatory students the program in Term I is conducted totally in Greek to ease the transition to formal education and to teach basic concepts. From Term II English is gradually introduced in an informal manner. There is a transitional bilingual program in Grade 1 and the school plans to extend the program into Grade 2. Initially the staff planned a bilingual program throughout the primary school. However it now appears that the bilingual program will operate from preparatory to Grade II with a gradual increase in the exposure to English. From Grade 3 Greek will be offered as a second language.

The secondary section of the school operates a curriculum similar to other post-primary schools in the state. As the secondary section has expanded year by year the school has been subjected to annual inspection for registration purposes. 1982 is the first year that the school has offered Year 12, and students are prepared for the usual range of HSC examinations. The secondary section of the school differs from many systemic schools to the extent that Greek is offered at all levels.

A commitment to the Greek Orthodox religion is a crucial element of the school's philosophy. This goes hand-in-hand with what might be considered to be a 'traditional' curriculum. It appears that many of the parents have chosen to send their children to St. John's because of their dissatisfaction with systemic schools. Parents appreciate the opportunity for their children to learn Greek and to have regular homework within an educational context that is seen as being more 'traditional' and more 'strict' than that of systemic schools. A further advantage is that parents do not feel alienated from the staff and can freely discuss their children's progress in either Greek or English.

Before their children begin school parents are informed that they are expected to take responsibility for assisting the school (for instance in ensuring that homework is completed), and parents appear to understand what the school asks of the students and why.

Enrolment Policy: The school has been criticised in some quarters as being 'exclusive', in that it caters only to one group of students. However, the school would welcome the enrolment of non-Greek students at any stage, although it acknowledges the difficulties this might cause for the program. Although some critics might assume that all students have a good working knowledge of Greek this is not always so. Some children come from families where only one parent is Greek and they may therefore know very little Greek when they initially enrol. Other students have been born into families where the mass media have been more influential as language models than their parents. Such students have some Greek and some English but could not be said to have a secure knowledge of either. The school thus offers support to students which cannot be matched in most systemic schools.

Future Developments: This school is claimed to be the first of its kind in Australia, but others have since opened or are being planned. At the beginning of the 1982 school year a new school with a similar orientation opened in the inner northern suburb of Northcote. St. John's has been in contact with one interested group in Sydney and it is likely that a similar school will open in Sydney in 1983. This may become an established pattern in the next decade as ethnic groups become more established and financially more secure.

Issues Raised

Some of the issues raised by schools such as St. John's are as follows:

- Can the school be said to have a multicultural orientation, or is it ethnocentric and exclusive?
- To what extent have systemic schools failed in their responsibilities to parents and students of non-English speaking backgrounds?
- What provision is made for the training of teachers to work in schools such as St. John's?
- To what extent do systemic schools have a responsibility to provide transitional bilingual programs and language maintenance programs for students on non-English speaking backgrounds?

PART III

Introduction

Decision-making at the level of administration was the theme of the third session at the Ballarat Institute. Three key issues were identified: ethnic schools, teacher education and language policy. Papers relating to each of these topics were presented. Reports prepared by representatives of each of the state multicultural advisory committees were distributed.

These committees provide a relatively new ('post Galbally') structural mechanism for influencing policy directions and determining priorities, both through their influence as advisers to the State Ministers for Education and through the allocation of small grants. Criteria for selection of members, as is the operation of the committees, is different in each state. These reports were prepared by:

Australian Capital Territory — Mrs. Ann Logan
New South Wales — Mr. Paul Whelan
Northern Territory — Ms. Lyn Powierza
South Australia — Mr. Geoff Hodgson
Tasmania — Ms. Sonia Broadstock
Victoria — Mr. Ian Adams
Western Australia — Dr. Harry Pearson

In the report of the South Australia Multicultural Education Co-ordinating Committee, the Chairman, Geoff Hodgson stated:

1. MECC in South Australia feels an isolation from similar bodies in other states in terms of
   (i) inadequate sharing of information about policies, projects and future directions;
   (ii) co-operation between states in large-scale projects . . .
2. The demise of the ERDC and the partial eclipse of CDC has left a vacuum in central research and curriculum development associated with multicultural education. Individual activities by state MECCs in these areas are wasteful of limited resources.

Opportunities for interchange between members of these committees, many of whom were present at Ballarat, must be regarded as a significant outcome of the First Institute. The wider group of participants did not address in any depth the problems which Commonwealth/State relations in Australia pose for the implementation of policy.

The three key papers in this session raised contentious issues, and each of the topics was selected as an area that needed further analysis at the Second Institute. In May 1982 Marlene Norst was still collating data from the Schools Commission National Survey of Ethnic Schools, of which she was the Chief Researcher. She presented a paper entitled *Ethnic School or Community Language School?* The theme of her paper is the inappropriateness of the term 'ethnic school'.

Keith Simkin's paper discussed the implications for multicultural education of the preparation of teachers. He concludes:

> The problems faced by teacher educators are similar to those faced by anyone who confronts the reality of our multicultural society. The issues revolve around attitudes, the interplay of political pressure groups with unequal access to resources, the professional commitment of educators, inventiveness and visions of the future. To isolate teacher education, or any single section of education, is to shift the blame from the whole chain to one link. This is short-sighted and counter-productive.

Simkin's paper should be read in conjunction with the group reports on teacher education and curriculum strategies in Part V.

The final paper in this session delivered by Alan Kerr argues, as the author has done for many years, that it is necessary, indeed imperative that a national language policy should be adopted and implemented. Kerr explains what a national language policy is and what would be the results of its adoption.

The issues raised in Kerr's paper are taken up in the report of the group which discussed language policies at the Second Institute, reproduced in Part V.

Ethnic School or Community Language School?

Key Issues Raised by the National Survey of Ethnic Schools 1981-82

Marlene J. Norst

What's in a Name?

Naming is a powerful act with impeccable antecedents. The Bible provides us with a precise account of God exercising his prerogative to create and name in the same breath:

> And God said: Be light made. And light was made . . .
> And he called the light 'day'
> And the darkness 'night'. (Genesis, *1*: 3, 5)

He then empowered Adam to continue the naming process —

> And the Lord God having formed out of the ground
> All the beasts of the Earth, and all the fowls of the Air,
> Brought them to Adam to see what he would call them:
> For whatsoever Adam called any living creature
> The same is its name.
> And Adam called all the beasts by their names,
> And all the fowls of the Air and all the cattle of the Field.
> (Genesis, *2*: 19-20)

Here we have an excellent precedent set for the proper relationship between name, definition and referent (i.e. objective reality). Name and object are created simultaneously, the name acting as descriptor and so defining the selected piece of reality. Since the Creation however, things have got out of hand. Naming and defining are no longer an applied science but have become a sort of l'art pour l'art activity and a favoured academic parlour game. This is particularly apparent when abstractions are named and then defined in terms of other abstractions with no referent at all to intrude on the process. Terminological debates of this kind are always inconclusive for no objective evaluation is possible. It's a matter of personal preference. For what makes one consider a name 'apt' or a definition 'good'? — their descriptive power – the degree of 'fit' between name and object and definition and object; their capacity to differentiate the specified phenomena from all others.

Humpty Dumpty in Alice in Wonderland warns us of the dangers of naming and defining without reference to a reality.

> 'Must a name mean something?' Alice asked doubtfully.
> 'Of course it must' Humpty Dumpty said with a short laugh:
> 'My name means the shape I am — and a good handsome shape it is too! With a name like yours, you might be any shape, almost.'
> (Carroll, Lewis *The Annotated Alice.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976: 263)

The moment however there is a referent, naming and defining can and should become a matter of debate because qualitative differences in factors such as 'appropriateness' then intervene. Let us take a practical example by way of illustration and consider the term *foreign language.* The label 'foreign' has very definite connotations which derive from its long use in many contexts and an analysis of a sample of such usage shows us the common semantic thread, e.g.:

i. 'I have a foreign body in my eye'
ii. 'It is foreign to me'
iii. 'Foreign made'
iv. 'He's a foreigner'

All of these uses have in common the notion of 'not belonging'. There would probably be general agreement that the descriptive aspect of the label 'foreign' is best encompassed by the idea of different; not part of the accepted norm. Further it is probably true that emotively the associations conjured up are for the most part pejorative. If we now want to discover the quality of the fit of name and referent we need to examine the nature of the phenomenon *languages* which we continue to name *foreign* in Australia.

True, the languages thus referred to have, like all languages except the Aboriginal ones, their origins outside Australia. Now, however, they are being spoken in Australia by people who have immigrated and are permanent residents. Since legal immigration is an explicitly mutual act implying as it does a conscious decision based on free choice by the two parties involved — the immigrant and the authority of the host country — in allowing an immigrant entry, one is also implicitly allowing him/her the right to come as a complete individual, language and all.* And these languages like the immigrants' particular clutch of possessions; skills; ways of doing things; and memories, in short, like all the cultural equipment they bring, once approved for permanent residency, become an inalienable part of the Australian scene.

How then can *foreign* be considered an appropriate label for such languages? Isn't it like saying: 'I intend to use the word *foreign* which generally means *does not belong* to refer in this instance to 'languages' which in fact belong and are part of Australia.' Isn't this rather absurd? Isn't it in fact, discriminatory? And can't one insist that the label is inappropriate since there is no match between it, the definition and the referent? And should not, in the interests of accuracy, the term be dropped? If we then seek a name with sharp definition to replace it, the name coined in Australia at the precise moment when the phenomenon became a matter of public interest deserves special mention, i.e. *community languages,* for the languages referred to by this name are spoken by members of particular communities in Australia and at the same time are capable of being shared by the whole Australian community. They have become part of the Australian cultural patterning. The name 'community languages' avoids the misleading, negative connotations of 'foreign languages' and defines the phenomenon more precisely by focusing on its most essential feature.

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* Mercifully we have not yet required immigrants to — 'Please state whether you have ever suffered from Vietnamese, German, Polish or any other language?' — and then excluded them on the grounds that they were thus afflicted.

Names in Action

Problems such as these involving appropriate and inappropriate labelling and the defining force of names emerged as a major methodological issue in the National Ethnic Schools survey and it is in that context I should now like to consider them further.

Background to the Survey

The impetus to the Survey funded by the Commonwealth Schools Commission came from the Report *Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education* prepared by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs in 1980, which stated that:

> In order to identify the specific needs of ethnic schools, it is recommended that a detailed survey of ethnic schools should be undertaken. The survey's focus should include an examination of the special needs of the smaller ethnic communities, and those more recently arrived, modes of upgrading teaching qualifications, curriculum materials, equipment and administrative support. The survey should be completed expeditiously and form the basis of recommendations to the government.
>
> (Chapter 5.23)

In June 1981, the Commonwealth Schools Commission asked me to assume responsibility as Chief Researcher for this project and provided a grant for the purpose to Macquarie University. A reference group under the chairmanship of Dr. J.J. Smolicz was appointed in August and the survey began in September. It soon became apparent that not only did we have to put certain questions to the schools but first we needed to discover to whom the questions should be put, since no complete list of schools had ever been compiled. Not one survey, but two, had to be undertaken and all the special networks had to be activated. Under these circumstances it seemed to me that a purposive sampling approach would be inappropriate and that we needed to go all out for a complete census.

State Co-ordinators were appointed and the questionnaire which we addressed to the Teacher in Charge at each and every school location was followed up by an interview conducted by a member of the team (in each State) appointed by the co-ordinator in each State. In all, there were over one hundred interviewers, the great proportion of whom conducted the interview in the language of the teacher in charge. This part of the exercise was virtually completed in the last three months of 1981, before the schools went on Christmas vacation. We contacted approximately nine hundred and seventy-three locations and discovered that fifty-seven languages were represented. More recently we have issued a second questionnaire addressed to the organisations responsible for the schools and these responses are at the moment being processed. Since our brief included putting the so-called *ethnic* school in the context of Australian education we are analysing the policies and attitudes of all relevant educational authorities and are putting particular emphasis on related systems like the *insertion* classes and the *full time* ethnic schools. Perhaps one of the most fascinating aspects of the survey has been the enquiries directed to teacher trainees and to primary school children. Their responses, reflecting as they do both the users and the non-users of these schools, has made us even more aware of the effect labelling has on attitudes.

In Search of Definition

Our terms of reference required us to survey 'Ethnic Schools'. This seemed to suggest that we were to study a clearly defined phenomenon distinguished by an appropriate label. We anticipated no difficulty. The first day in the field showed us how wrong we were. We began with the name *Ethnic School* and the definition that the Commonwealth Schools Commission has used for funding purposes since May, 1981, which stresses the part-time character of the schools, the fact that they are community initiated and controlled, non-profit making and concerned primarily with teaching a language.

The term 'ethnic' did not seem to accord too well with this definition but we assumed that it had the advantage of wide acceptance.

This proved not to be the case. We found that people neither used nor understood the term — some in fact utterly resented it. The communities themselves variously referred to their schools as:

- Greek School (Italian School etc.)
- Saturday School
- Sunday School
- Afternoon School
- Community School
- Language School
- La Dopo Scuola
- Apogevmatina Scholeia
- Szkola Sobotnia
- Sonnabendschule

A review of the literature showed that the phenomenon is also known in other countries by various names. In the U.S.A., for example, the term *freedom school* is to be found, as well as *ethnic mother-tongue school;* in Canada they are known as *heritage schools,* while the favoured term in England is *mother-tongue school* or *supplementary school.* It is clear that each of these names focuses on one of the aims which the school is presumed to have. This raises the whole question of who has the right to name and define, and led us to enquire how the schools in fact see themselves.

While the survey is still incomplete* and I cannot give exact figures, the trends are emerging quite clearly.

Despite an incredible diversity in size, staff, organisation, curriculum, teaching conditions, teaching methodology and the language skills of the students, there is an astonishing consensus regarding the function of these schools and the role they should play in the future. Misled perhaps by the term 'ethnic', we had assumed that the stress in schools would be on exclusiveness, on maintaining the cultural heritage and at the same time providing a secure haven in a hostile environment. This was by no means the case. With very few exceptions all fifty seven language groups expressed a positive wish to interact with the wider Australian community in the area of education — and suggested specific ways out of the present isolation.

Most shared the same aims though the priorities varied between communities. During the interviews, approximately thirty of the fifty seven language groups representing more than eighty-five per cent of the actual schools, saw language teaching as their main aim; about ten per cent of the schools saw 'preservation of cultural heritage' as the priority, and the remaining five per cent were equally divided between those who saw the support of religion and the fostering of a sense of ethnic identity as the main goals. A significant proportion nominated 'contributing to a multicultural Australia' as an important objective. One school expressed this as 'enriching multicultural Australian society by promoting intercultural understanding'.

The great majority of communities expressed a wish to have their language taught as a regular part of the day school curriculum both in primary and high school and saw the part-time school as having an important continuing supportive role to play. They commented on the restrictions of the time-table in the day school and saw themselves as able to provide reinforcement and extension activities — as a 'supplementary or support system'. The small communities were realistic enough to see that they would have very little chance of having their languages incorporated in the day school curriculum. They felt that for them the part-time language schools represented the only hope in the immediate future.

This view the schools have of themselves and their role has to be taken seriously — and has definite implications for the kind of recommendations that need to emerge from the Report. It also focuses

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- The Australian National Survey of Ethnic Schools was completed and formally received by the Commonwealth Schools Commission in August, 1982. The final report consists of four volumes:

NORST, MARLENE J.:	NATIONAL ETHNIC SCHOOL SURVEY	
	1. Report and Recommendations	(218pp)
	2. Data Digest	(159pp)
	3. Bibliography	(52pp)
	4. Register of Organisations	(65pp)

attention on the main issue which needs to be addressed: how these schools can be helped to maintain their unique character and yet be accorded a recognised function within the framework of Australian education, allowing them to make a real contribution.

Finally, and as a small by-product of this survey, we will be suggesting a more fitting name. Our experiences in the survey have led us to realise that the so-called 'Ethnic' Schools represented a great spread of ethnicity, language and creed. To highlight ethnicity by labelling the schools 'ethnic' seemed inappropriate for three main reasons:

1. It is not a name which describes accurately the schools' main function

The definition of the schools which was used in the survey included the following essential features: part-time (outside school hours); community initiated and controlled; not conducted for profit; concerned with teaching a specific community language and other aspects of the cultural heritage, including in some cases, religion. The survey shows clearly that the schools are in fact focusing on the provision of a specific language in an authentic cultural setting whether that be Welsh, Gaelic, Romany, Hmong, Motu, Awabakal (an Aboriginal language) or one of the better known tongues such as Italian, Greek or German. All our informants seemed to take it for granted that language was the main reason for their existence and that this language functioned as a vehicle for the transmission of the culture as well as a vital component of that culture.

Ethnicity is a feature which distinguishes each individual from birth by virtue of his/her parentage. It can later be accepted and acknowledged or rejected and denied; it cannot be acquired by learning as can language and other aspects of the cultural heritage such as religion, art, music, history or literature. It would seem quite strange therefore to call a specialised school by a name which reveals nothing of that specialisation.

2. It is not a name in general use in the community

In conducting the survey we were repeatedly obliged to translate the term 'Ethnic' School or to provide a detailed description before those interviewed understood what was under discussion. 'Oh, you mean our Saturday School' was the usual signal of recognition. There is no evidence at all that the schools refer to themselves by this name or wish to do so.

3. The name has pejorative connotations which could militate against the acceptance of these schools as Australian institutions for Australian children

Finally the term seems inappropriate because it has connotations which like 'foreign' mark those designated as outsiders, not part of the main stream, not belonging, different, not one of us. Increasingly the community at large is using the term 'ethnic' to distinguish those who are not of Anglo-Saxon origin or more crudely 'not Australian'. Playground jargon makes this point succinctly with its 'ethnic off', as did one of our child informants who wrote: 'I don't think I would like to go because none of the friends I have are Ethnic and I'm Australian'.

Certainly such usage cannot be seen as helping to promote the co-operative spirit of a multicultural society. Moreover it masks the desire of the schools themselves to cease their role as cultural citadels against a hostile environment and assume a new one as working partners in Australian education.

In rejecting 'ethnic' as a true description of the schools, we looked for a name which would define the referent more accurately as well as avoiding confusion with existing institutions; focus on the community basis of the schools; indicate the main subject taught in an authentic cultural context and suggest openness rather than enclusiveness.

The name which seemed best to meet these criteria was — Community Language School preceded by the name of the language, e.g. Turkish Community Language School.

The term Community Language is descriptively specific yet emotionally neutral. It has the advantage of linking — in name at least — these schools to the Community Language programs in other educational institutions and promoting interaction which can only be of mutual benefit.

A name cannot change the nature of the object named but it can have some influence on attitudes towards it.

The schools are now clearly defining their role in a new way as partners in the business of educating Australian children. It would seem an excellent moment to rename them and help them to participate in Australian education as *Community Language Schools.*

Implications of Multicultural Education for Teacher Education

Keith Simkin

Introduction

Teacher education for a multicultural society has had a bad press during the last few years. Many critics have argued that, with few exceptions, teacher educators have not really been aware of the implications of multiculturalism in the preparation of teachers.

Three major criticisms have emerged. Firstly, teacher education has not responded professionally, so that new (and experienced) teachers are not adequately prepared for the realities of the multicultural classroom and the ethnically heterogeneous school. Secondly, teacher education has not responded with sufficient toughness and has failed to make courses in multicultural education compulsory for all teachers-in-training. Teacher education has not responded adequately, so that there is a chronic shortage of teachers for a multicultural society at all educational levels.

This paper attempts a review of these criticisms and comments on some trends that seem to have been emerging during recent years as teacher educators have begun to grapple with the issues arising from large scale immigration to Australia over the last three decades. This approach reflects an injunction by the organisers of this Institute to try to clarify some of the central issues currently involved in debates about multiculturalism and in devising relevant policies.

Professional Preparation

There are two basic strands in the argument that teacher education has provided an inadequate preparation for teachers in multicultural classrooms.

The first strand is structural and solutions are often proposed at an organisational level. Critics have pointed to the multiplicity of uneconomic and inefficient multicultural programs that attract only a small number of students in each, resulting in unnecessary duplication and wastage of scarce resources. In both the National and Victorian inquiries into teacher education, the argument was made that the quality of courses (in for example, languages and TESL) would be improved by concentrating expertise into a few strategically located institutions that maximised the available offerings and attracted the broadest range of potential teachers.

In general economic terms it is difficult to argue against 'unnecessary duplication' or 'waste'. However, it would seem to be incumbent upon Commonwealth and State policy-making committees to show that recent amalgamations, mergers or takeovers in the tertiary college sphere are based on either cost-benefit projections or educationally sound rationales, rather than on political grounds. It certainly seems too early at this stage to argue that these large scale institutional mergers will necessarily result in the provision of a more professional teacher education for a multicultural society.

The second strand of the criticism is an attack on the quality of existing teacher education courses in the multicultural area. In the National and State inquiries into teacher education and in the AIMA report on multicultural education, it was argued that only a few teachers were trained in TESL, or community languages or intercultural studies. Those who had one of these backgrounds usually were untrained in the other two, so were unable to integrate components of the teaching situation essential to successful practice in school. Within each component, existing courses were criticised as too short, too theoretical or too superficial for teachers to cope with the 'reality' of the multicultural classroom.

In reply to these criticisms, it could be argued that many of them are not well thought out, in that they do not take account of existing constraints on teacher education. They do not indicate how they could be implemented and do not rest on a systematic or coherent notion of multicultural teacher education.

Firstly, advocates of many aspects of multicultural education — TESL, community languages, bilingual education and intercultural studies are four of the main aspects — all press for a dominant place in teacher education curricula. To satisfy *all* the demands would be impossible within existing constraints. To change the constraints would involve a serious revision of the philosophy, economics and politics of teacher education in Australia. In the last five years we have seen some proposals at the Federal and State levels, but none has produced signs of consensus or concerted reform.

Secondly, to opt for a substantial increase in the place of any *one* of the aspects mentioned above would not necessarily lead to agreement that 'multicultural' teacher education was being improved. By itself, emphasis on any *one* of TESL, community languages, bilingual education or intercultural studies may benefit only one (or a few) cultural group(s) at the expense of others. Without agreed definitions of the content and purpose of 'multicultural' education, criteria for selecting only one aspect are presently unclear. At present, many definitions exist in the official reports, academic papers, teacher journals and among individual school, parent and ethnic communities. Within any one aspect of multicultural education there are disagreements that cannot be resolved without reference to issues that encompass broad social policies and personal philosophies about the desired future of our ethnically diverse society.

At this stage in our history there seems to be general official agreement that multicultural education at least encompasses TESL, community language teaching and intercultural studies. (It is possible that during the

1980s the first two will become increasingly overshadowed by some kind of core curriculum emphasising skills and values available to all students as 'education for a multicultural society'). Within this rubric, and accepting the need to avoid 'obvious duplication', teacher education institutions might be well advised to provide a balance of multicultural strands rather than to specialise in any *one.* They could certainly profit by an examination of how the various strands could be systematically related, and how these strands reflected the complexity of the surrounding communities. They need to embark on the experiment of learning how to reflect community demands for teachers who can operate within the conditions peculiar to that community, without reacting too quickly to pressure group demands for emphasis on one aspect of multicultural education to the detriment of others. Inevitably, this involves a political judgment, hopefully unswayed by rhetorical appeals to 'multiculturalism' as a rationale for total curriculum construction in teacher education institutions.

Compulsory Multiculturalism

The fact that many, if not most, teacher education institutions in this country do not make courses in education for a multicultural society *compulsory* for all trainee teachers has been interpreted as apathy or even resistance to the needs and rights of various ethnic groups.

There are many arguments advanced in support of compulsory multiculturalism in teacher education. One is that a pervasive and systematic exposure to multicultural issues and the needs of minority group children is essential for trainee teachers to develop relevant skills and attitudes. Another is that the school and the teacher play a crucial role in fostering tolerance and the acceptance of cultural differences. A third is that if trainee teachers are exposed to a little multicultural education (or if it is taught badly and without conviction), the results may be counter productive.

It is not hard to make the case that the response of teacher educators to the needs of children and parents from different ethnic backgrounds has been inadequate. But it does not follow that an appropriate solution to the problem lies in compulsory multicultural education for teachers. The proponents of compulsion have not, generally speaking, thought through their arguments to take sufficient account of several factors that operate within teacher education and schools (to which several of the following comments also apply).

Arguments for the inclusion of compulsory multiculturalism in teacher education curricula have parallels with arguments for the inclusion of many other 'vital' aspects of education for the 1980s. Currently strong claimants include the teaching of reading, spelling, language acquisition, writing, child and adolescent development, the impact of the media and computer technology, drug, sex and consumer education and preparation for a world in which most of us will face increased amounts of compulsory or voluntary leisure. Without downgrading the importance of education for a multicultural society, its compulsory inclusion in the curriculum must be weighed against competing claims, especially from areas that are skill or employment oriented.

It is not clear what the critics mean by 'compulsion'. Some have argued for 'heavy compulsion' that requires all trainee teachers to study TESL, community language issues, bilingual education, intercultural studies and language acquisition, and to gain practical experience in schools with ethnically diverse populations. Other commentators have put forward a range of proposals, with the lightest form of compulsion being simply that multicultural perspectives be included in the normal practical and theoretical components of teacher education courses.

The ambiguity in the proposals for compulsion poses a problem for teacher educators. If a teacher education institution opts for the heavy end of the compulsion continuum it is faced with difficult choices in relation to staffing skills and availability, and what is to be deleted from the existing program. It is also open to the criticism that it is patronisingly singling out 'migrant' issues as 'problems' rather than integrating multicultural studies into the entire curriculum. If it opts for the lighter end of the continuum, it is open to charges of superficiality and tokenism and is faced with anxious or hostile staff who do not feel confident of being able to provide a multicultural perspective in their content area (e.g. biology, mathematics or consumer education). Some teacher educators might even smile wryly at the irony of being asked to tell lecturers, "You *must* teach courses on tolerance, even if you say you can't and don't want to!"

Arguments for compulsion very quickly run up against the pedagogic principle that people often internalise knowledge, attitudes and skills when they seek answers to things that *they* have formulated as problematic. This principle implies that multicultural issues might best be handled in an episodic rather than a predetermined, imposed, manner. For example, one might think of an effective teacher education program that initially exposed trainees to multicultural situations, then responded with detailed treatment and guidance to trainee-initiated requests for assistance and knowledge that arose from problems encountered in professional practice. (Such a model does operate in many *in-service* programs, where compulsion is a much more difficult concept to handle than in pre-service teacher education.)

Very few of the proponents for compulsory multiculturalism take account of the process of socialisation that occurs during induction to the teaching profession. The first concern of most trainees is with personal performance (they call it survival), above all with discipline, classroom management and mastering the subject matter to be taught. Later comes a concern about the effectiveness and appropriateness of the curriculum and a growing awareness of the backgrounds of students and their individual needs. An effective understanding of the political, economic and social contexts of education usually comes later, sometimes only after years of teaching experience. In many cases the trainee teacher regards multiculturalism as irrelevant since it does not relate to his immediate problems and needs. Those trainees who do become aware of the complexities surrounding education for a multicultural society often become discouraged by the intractability of the problem.

There are some unfortunate consequences of negative attitudes to the analysis of multicultural issues. Some student teachers identify immigrant children as 'problems' who reduce the chances of success in practical teaching. Some shift the responsibility for these children to the TESL or remedial English teacher. Many become innoculated early in their teacher training and develop prejudices against immigrants and the arguments put forward in support of education for a multicultural society.

The preceding comments have some implications for teacher education. Rather than exposing pre-service trainees to compulsory courses on multicultural issues, it might be more profitable to explore much more energetically the opportunities to expose them to 'successful' programs in schools that provide models of enriching rather than 'problematic' experiences. In this area of attitude and skill development, the carrot may be more effective than the stick. In any case teacher education might be more effective in concentrating most of its limited resources at the *in-service* level, since pre-service education only accounts for six per cent of the teaching force. Practising teachers may be more able to focus on multicultural issues since they are not normally so preoccupied with the problems that are paramount in the minds of most trainees or first year teachers. Since it is difficult to make in-service education in multicultural areas compulsory, those who do attend courses will presumably be those who are committed to seeking answers to problems or questions and hence more receptive to undertaking the processes of learning and reflection required in coming to grips with the complex issues involved.

A Shortage of Multicultural Teachers

Teacher educators have been criticised for being unable or unwilling to provide a sufficient quantity of teachers to educate our children to live in a multicultural society. Schools cannot run multicultural programs because there are no guarantees of replacement personnel for TESL, community language or intercultural studies programs. Australia's monolingual society should become multilingual and multicultural, and education is the institution best placed to do this. In view of its poor performance in this area, teacher education should be subjected to critical scrutiny with the aim of revitalisation of inadequate and unresponsive structures.

For the sake of discussion let us accept the criticisms. Let us then look at possible explanations for the shortage of multicultural teachers and explore some strategies for improvement.

One possible reason could be that teacher educators have negative attitudes towards education for a multicultural society, due to existing categories of knowledge or a dislike of embarking upon the difficult task of incorporating multicultural perspectives into an already crowded curriculum. Some strategies for change would include the retraining of staff and increasing the co-operation between training institutions and schools running multicultural programs. These strategies would require the development of new models of structural flexibility within training institutions and between training institutions and funding agencies at the State and Federal levels.

A second possible reason could be that teacher educators are not exactly hostile to multicultural education, but are merely cautious about large-scale commitments until they know more about official policy directions or the major areas of public demand. They can point, with some justification, to the lack of consensus among academics on 'multiculturalism'. They can also point to a similar lack of agreement in major official policy statements.

One strategy, but not a productive one, would be to wait for consensus and clear direction. The realistic alternative is for teacher education institutions to devise policies based on their own philosophies of multiculturalism and analyses of public demands. It is understandable, however, that institutions are showing caution before committing resources to multicultural education when funding criteria in State and Federal agencies are vague, contradictory and ever-changing.

A third possible reason for the shortage of multicultural teachers could be that there is a circular process occurring within the education system, whereby too few suitable graduates are trained because too few suitably qualified matriculants are produced, because too few suitable teachers are employed, and so on. Strategies to break this process would require long term policies designed to articulate the desired flow between primary, secondary and tertiary education sectors. These strategies would require the participation of teacher education institutions, but, by their very nature, would have to be initiated and supervised by federal and state planning and funding agencies.

A fourth possible reason could lie in the nature of resource allocation for educational services. Federally and state-funded enquiries into teacher education have criticised all levels of the education system for their inadequate responses to problems in multicultural education. Yet at the same time governments have placed severe financial restrictions at all educational levels that have severely limited the possibilities for improvement or even the maintenance of existing services. Staff numbers in training institutions have been reduced, and access to seconded staff from state education departments has been restricted. Staff ceilings have meant that a lower priority has been given to the employment of lecturers, teachers and aides in the multicultural area, and preference has been given to the teaching of 'core' disciplines. Resources have been moved from the state to the private educational sector, exacerbating the problems of non-Anglo-Saxon children and parents and schools in areas of high migrant density. Strategies to come to grips with these processes go well beyond teacher training institutions and into the areas of political philosophy and practice.

Some Recent Trends

To talk about trends in the area of teacher education for a multicultural society is not to imply that teacher educators are producing change by grappling with the problems. Nor is it to imply that the issues are even seen clearly or that a consensus is emerging. What follows represents only a subjective perception of some changes that appear to be occurring and that might be significant for teacher education over the next decade or more.

Firstly, there appears to have been a move away from school-based teacher education programs towards more academic, institution-based courses. This trend has been partly the result of financial restrictions that have reduced staffing levels, particularly in relation to secondments of experienced school teachers having close links with effective multicultural programs. The trend may also reflect a decline in the influence of the populist ideologies of teacher education so strongly advocated in the early 1970s. Whatever the reasons for this trend, its existence does not give grounds for optimism about the ability of teacher education institutions to respond effectively to the demands of ethnically diverse school populations.

Secondly, at the system level the directions of change and the influences on change in the multicultural area are not easy to identify or to evaluate clearly. For example, one major thrust is the devolution of accountability from state to regional and individual school levels. This trend could mean a greater responsiveness to the multicultural needs of local communities and the participation of teacher education institutions in community initiatives. Or it could mean that multicultural issues will be buried by state governments, leaving teacher education institutions and regional and school administrators as the meat in the sandwich. Another, potentially contradictory, system-level thrust is the growth of centralised funding and policy formulating agencies in the multicultural area; e.g. Child Migrant Education (CME), Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (AEAC), Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), Ethnic Affairs Commission (EAC) in New South Wales and Victorian Advisory Committee on Migrant and Multicultural Education (VACMME) in Victoria. Since many of the recommendations of these agencies are contradictory, schools and teacher education institutions find it difficult to be sensitive to the whims of their political masters, let alone be responsive to the articulated demands of their ethnically diverse community pressure groups.

Thirdly, there are several trends that give grounds for optimism. There is an increasingly informed and committed clientele, especially the sons and daughters of immigrants now entering teacher training. In-service courses in multicultural areas are rapidly expanding. Many teacher educators are displaying a more sophisticated awareness of how teachers might be educated to influence pupils' attitudes to cultural diversity (e.g. note the range of bilingual programs in teacher education). There is an increasing inventiveness in schools, teacher education institutions and related agencies in devising potentially effective and realistic strategies for multicultural education (e.g. race relations camps, language electives, cross-age tutoring programs, ethnic parents' councils, school and teacher exchanges, ethnic media and teaching aides). There is evidence at all levels of education systems that Australians are drawing on overseas experience in order to avoid costly mistakes and to devise responses appropriate to our own, unique, ethnically diverse society.

Conclusion

The problems faced by teacher educators are similar to those faced by anyone who confronts the reality of our multicultural society. The issues revolve around attitudes, the interplay of political pressure groups with unequal access to resources, the professional commitment of educators, inventiveness and visions of the future. To isolate teacher education, or any single section of education, is to shift the blame from the whole chain to one link. This is short-sighted and counter-productive.

It would be more effective to analyse teacher education in the context of broad strategies for change, rather than to insist on simplistic demands that fly in the face of experience and harsh political and economic realities. Broadly based dialogue and participation by as many groups as possible may in the long run lead to the inventive and flexible strategies for change that are required for the realisation of multicultural education policies, programs and institutions.

Hopefully, this Institute will become part of that dialogue ahd participation.

A National Language Policy

Alan Kerr

Let me begin by quoting three aphorisms about language which seem to represent three quite important considerations in any discussion of language policy and education.

1. A dog we know is better company than a man whose language we do not understand. *Montaigne*
2. The sum of human wisdom is not contained in any one language, and no single language is capable of expressing all forms and degrees of human comprehension. *Ezra Pound*
3. Every language is a temple in which the soul of those who speak it is enshrined. *Oliver Wendell Holmes*

The first emphasises how essential language is in ensuring communication between people, and how difficult it is to establish relationships without it. The second reminds us that our particular language is not the sole key to the secrets of the universe, nor indeed necessarily the most effective one. The third intimates that there is a very special relationship between the world view of a people, their sense of their own identity, and the language they speak. It would not be stretching the point too far to note that certain people would find something mystical in the relationship.

Because language is so important to identity, relationships and communication, and because there are so many different languages spoken even in a small nation of 15,000,000 people like Australia, it is not surprising to find quite strong reactions to any suggestion that previously comfortable language arrangements need to be changed. Quite coincidentally, last week's *Australian* has been full of good illustrative material.

At the end of April, the then Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr. Macphee spoke in support of a multilingual Australia. By Monday May 3rd, the *Australian* ran a story by a correspondent, Ted Knez, asserting that 'The Federal Government has taken a radical step towards identifying and adopting a second language to be spoken in Australia'. The prospect of the Australian Government's doing anything radical so distressed the editor that on Tuesday May 4th the editorial ran under the headline DANGER IN CREATING LINGUISTIC GHETTOES. The Minister replied on Friday May 5th, under a placatory headline ENGLISH IS OUR ONE NATIONAL LANGUAGE, and all was thus set for a full-page story on Page five of the *Weekend Australian Magazine* on 'the growing pressure for a National Language Policy foreshadowed by Mr. Macphee'. You can see therefore that we are discussing a 'live issue'.

What is a National Language Policy?

On the face of it, we could expect a country like Australia, whose population is so diverse, whose chief population strategy is immigration, which is quite close to the world's vastest populations speaking other languages, and whose trade and commerce is mainly with speakers of other languages, to be acutely aware of language needs, to encourage language study, and to foster existing and new language resources through some co-ordination at national level.

A national policy, in any area of endeavour, identifies needs and resources, sets goals, develops strategies to match resources to needs, sets up a mechanism to do what is necessary, and gets on with planning. Nations the world over do it with resources both natural and human.

A national language policy would identify national needs for language, survey the resources available, identify the role of language in general and of individual languages in particular in the life of the nation, establish strategies that are necessary to manage and develop language resources, and relate all these to the best interests of the nation through the operation of an appropriate planning authority.

Such a policy should be comprehensive, taking all relevant information into account, and it must endeavour to be consistent, so that one aspect of it does not work against others. It must also be founded on and consistent with other social goals which the society sets for itself, and it must be acceptable to the population. Language policies that run against the perceptions of the population are prescriptions for conflict.

Language planning is really the implementation and prosecution phase of a language policy. Language planning is the phase that engenders sustained conflict if the measures are inadequate or unacceptable.

Language Planning and Social Policy in Australia

The moves for a national language policy are in a sense a natural development out of changes in national social policy. You are all tired of being told that Australia adopted, immediately after World War II, a rigorous social policy of assimilation, that it did not work, and that it has been traded in on a succession of new policies. It may be useful to look at the notion of assimilation in a different way. If a nation is to continue as a nation, some kind and degree of assimilation is necessary. But the term may need to be redefined.

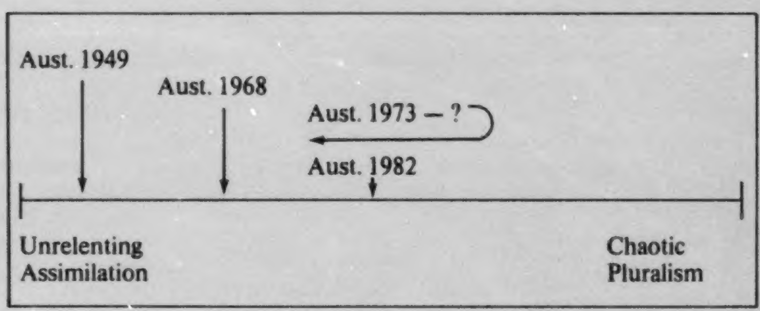

Figure 1: ATTITUDES TO CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

The attitude of any country to cultural difference can be located along a continuum (Figure 1) representing at one end an attitude of unrelenting assimilation and at the other an attitude of chaotic pluralism. Neither of the extremes is a real option, but the concept of the continuum is useful. No culture could be perfectly plural and survive. For the sake of its continued existence, every culture is to some extent assimilationist. Neither is a perfectly assimilationist culture absolutely possible. All cultures are in some ways pluralist. It is a matter of balance between two factors.

Now, in the late 1940s Australia saw itself as homogeneous, and the Prime Minister promoted 'the ideal of one Australian family, devoid of foreign communities, thus preserving our homogeneity and solidarity as a nation'. (Quoted in Martin 1972: 14) On the scale in Figure 1, the 1949 position is well to the left. By 1968 the new policy of integration represented a slightly less extreme position. The declaration of Grassby (1973) of the concept of the 'family of the nation' and the notion of multiculturalism obviously pushed the 1973 position in the direction of pluralism. People were, however, quick to detect dangers of separatism, and the trend was reversed. Some affirmative move had been necessary to break the previous position, but society, having decided against both extremes, sought a relatively middle course. This is the present social policy of *social cohesion with cultural diversity*, current since about 1975.

People are starting to look at assimilation in a different way. It is a form of adaptive behaviour, by which newcomers cope with a new situation. Accommodation also is a form of adaptive behaviour, by which the receiving citizens cope with the new situation. Assimilation *without* accommodation has been rejected. Assimilaton *with* accommodation is being examined as an option.

Australian social policy thus still insists on some degree of assimilation, particularly through the adoption of certain core values, however badly they are defined. It also officially supports some degree of accommodation, as for example in official support for the preservation of ethnic languages and cultures. But it is important to note that we are in a period of transition. We are, as a nation, in a holding position as we consider the options available to us. How can we modify a set of structures, services and procedures, developed to support a society that saw itself as homogeneous, to service a society that now sees itself as diverse? Among the many areas that must be examined is the question of a national language policy. The development of a national language policy is an attempt to define what assimilative and accommodative measures are necessary in the language area. It will also reflect other aspects of our social policy, such as our attitude to justice for everyone, and equal access by everyone to a rightful share of social resources, both of which seem to me to be fundamental to a policy called multiculturalism. As Ingram (1979) says:

> . . . if genuine multiculturalism . . . is a goal for social development, then a clear national language policy is desirable as an overt sign that the nation and government are serious in their expressions and that constructive systematic action is being taken . . .

What is the Current Language Situation in Australia?

Resources and Needs

Figures released by the Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in an address to Australian Futures Inc. (Menadue 1981b) estimates that of first generation residents from non-English speaking countries there are in total 1,326,833 speakers of thirty-six languages, each with more than 1,000 speakers in Australia. In addition, there are 106,000 first generation speakers of more than ninety other languages each with fewer than 1,000 speakers in Australia, and 27,000 Aborigines speaking various indigenous languages including creoles. He further revealed that one quarter of our population (i.e. three and three-quarter million people) have ' . . . an immediate personal and family interest in a language other than English and in a culture outside the British tradition'. Charles Price's figures give further details. The pool of speakers of languages is thus quite large, and their needs for support services in every area are increasing.

Similarly our external contacts through trade with peoples speaking other languages are increasing rapidly. Figures in the trade area alone are significant. Our exports to non-English speaking countries have risen from 47 per cent in 1952/53 to 74 per cent in 1978/79. In the same period exports to Japan rose from 9.6 per cent to 28.9 per cent, and trade with UK fell from 41.2 per cent to 4.0 per cent. Imports from non-English speaking countries similarly increased from 36 per cent to 70 per cent, and so on. For foreign contacts we need more language resources.

Official Responses and Community Support

The result of this has been an awareness on the part of government and some citizens of the importance of languages to Australia. Surveys of Asian and migrant language needs have been made. A listing of them is in

Ingram (1979). The Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, has publicly endorsed bilingualism for all Australians (1977 election campaign), and following the Galbally Review (1978), he supported bilingual, community languages and E.S.L. services with special funds. Translation and interpreting services have more support, and token efforts to increase the supply of bilingual teachers are starting to appear. Multicultural television and ethnic broadcasting have been established. These responses have largely been co-ordinated from the point of view of a national language policy. Among the community, attitudes have been sampled by opinion polls. The Morgan National Opinion Poll (Bulletin 6/6/78) indicated a 90% support for foreign languages, and a Gallup Poll (Courier Mail 3/5/77) indicated 50% support for compulsory foreign language study. The Ethnic Communities Councils have extracted from state and federal governments official support for bilingual programs, community language programs and mother tongue instruction in primary schools.

Response in the Schools

However, the response in the education system, apart from E.S.L. provisions, has been relatively small and realised against considerable difficulties. By early 1981 for example, New South Wales had found difficulty in obtaining thirty bilingual teachers for experimental programs. Other figures from the Department of Education (1977) show that matriculation candidates in languages declined from 20,630 in 1967 to 14,174 in 1975. As a percentage of the total candidatures the fall is more pronounced, from 35.8% in 1967 to 14.7% in 1975, and Ingram (1979) put a more recent estimate at 10%. All Australian universities have dispensed with language prerequisites, and Wykes and King (1968) reported a common view among university staff that language study is irrelevant. School children in their survey were of the same opinion. Although Colleges of Advanced Education have proposed new courses to supply the needs identified in government reviews, the Higher Education Board in New South Wales has limited financial support for community language courses to Milperra C.A.E., and has, in contravention of government policy, prevented the establishment of masters courses at other colleges which proposed innovations in language, socio-cultural and educational dimensions of multiculturalism.

It is clear that what language resources we have are being extinguished. While we spend funds trying to develop non-native competence in adults for business, trade, diplomatic, welfare and cultural reasons, we are busy extinguishing native competence in school children. Our translator and interpreter services are inadequate to cope with the demands placed on them, in spite of dealing with one million requests in eight years. Posters prepared by the translation services for display in libraries were pulped in 1977 because of grave inadequacies. Our embassies have relied on foreign translators, some of whom have been shown to mistranslate deliberately to minimise the political impact of local events.

Within Australia there are constant complaints from ethnic communities that students are disadvantaged through study and examination in a second language. In New South Wales and Victoria it is alleged that the scaling system used for H.S.C. results actually deducts marks from community language candidates in their community language papers because their results in other papers, completed in English as a second language, are lower. The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1977: 12) lists criticisms of the education system — that it is over-assimilationist in stressing E.S.L., that children without English are handicapped by having to acquire basic skills in a second language, and that schools aggravate or fail to ameliorate tensions between children and the family, or between ethnic children and other children.

A major criticism of the current position is that Australia really has a *de facto* policy that full access to the resources and services of the society is largely dependent on control of English. Some observers insist that the society, either deliberately or unwittingly, is using language to conceal information and to limit access to resources, thereby discriminating unfairly against certain citizens on the grounds of race or ethnicity, in contravention of the Racial Discrimination Act (1975) and of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, to which we subscribe.

A few cases may help to illustrate. They range from mild inconvenience, through significant obstacles to access to resources, to a grave injustice. In a New South Wales country town, a Cypriot woman who has been working in Australia since 1957 still has not had an opportunity to learn to read and write English. Her Australian-born son, now working in Europe, has never had the opportunity to read and write Greek. They pay astronomical phone bills for a weekly conversation. What remains, however, is a heavy feeling of sadness and irritation for them both. In the same town a Chilean woman who found herself a single parent tried to train herself to earn a living. Because of her low level of English she failed the secretarial course at the local technical college. She enrolled as a trainee nurse, but was required to leave after the formal examination at the end of the first year because of her difficulties with English. On the basis of these occurrences, she was then refused entry to a child care certificate course. The majority of Aboriginal people seeking post-secondary qualifications have the same difficulty. A third case involves lack of access to law because of language difficulties. A group of Sardinian tobacco farmers used a recommended new fungicide which had been poorly tested and which virtually wiped out their annual crop. Because of language difficulties and lack of familiarity with Australian law, they have not been able to gain compensation from the firm, even though it has compensated English speaking tobacco farmers in a neighbouring district, on the express condition that they keep their compensation secret. Thousands of similar cases attest the unfairness of an insistence on control of English as the key to ordinary rights.

A second strong criticism, which in some ways shows conflict with the first, is the assertion that *ad hoc* language planning is already going on, outside the counsel and knowledge of those who really ought to be involved, and that most of what goes on in these cases is poorly co-ordinated and unlikely to achieve the aims sought. For example, language lessons for a half hour once a week in schools *cannot* produce linguistic competence and probably also defeat any social aims (see Clyne, 1975). Yet community language programs, bilingual programs, E.S.L. programs and adult literacy programs are being introduced without proper planning, without clear aims and without any guarantee that the methods and materials used are capable of realising any worthwhile aims. Even some of the most carefully supervised programs run by government agencies for adult E.S.L. learners come nowhere near the minimum requirements laid down by Kaplan (1978). We do not know whether we should teach languages for transition or maintenance, and whether our resources are adequate for either. The picture of the present situation is one of confusion, *ad hocery,* waste, frustration and even misery. For these reasons a national policy and planning program is necessary.

Moves for a National Language Policy and Language Planning

Calls for a national language policy and a planning body are not new. I myself first raised the matter in 1962 when reforms to secondary education in New South Wales threatened to kill foreign language study stone dead. (Kerr, 1981, records a more detailed examination of language and education.) Some pressure comes from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, particularly since John Menadue became Secretary. Recent speeches by him and his minister advance the argument. (Menadue 1981 a,b,c,d; Macphee 1981). So too do members of his Department, Bruce Machin and David Weedon *(Australian 8/5/82)* and one of the Department's most influential consultants, David Ingram (1979). Professional bodies such as the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia (Steele, 1982) and the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Association (Quinn 1979) also support the move. Academics interested in social policy see a national language policy as central to the question (Atchison 1980). The Ethnic Broadcasting and Multicultural Television services are constantly having to make priority decisions about language in the absence of explicit policy (Patterson 1980). The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council Committee on Multicultural Education (1981) urged the establishment of a National Institute of Languages.

Finally, the government has responded to these pressures by having Baden Teege, Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, move in the Senate in March for a full investigation of the national language policy question. The tentative terms of reference which he moves are the investigation of:

a) all aspects of, including guidelines for, a national language policy

b) the role of English as a first and second language and its relationship to other languages in Australia

c) the present use of languages in Australia including use in the community, in the media (including newspapers, ethnic radio and multicultural television) or the arts, and to extend equality of access to services and to the institutions of Australian society

d) the particular requirements arising from the community and educational use of Aboriginal languages

e) the current state of, and trends in, language teaching and learning in primary and secondary schools, tertiary education and other formal and informal programs in the community

f) the extent to which existing policies, practices, attitudes, resource allocations and programs are adequate to provide for the appropriate development of Australia's language resources

g) the language requirements in Australia necessary for trade, diplomacy, defence, tourism and cultural exchange especially taking into account Australia's regional and other international relationships

h) the special language needs of the deaf and other persons with disabilities

i) arrangements for the on-going implementation of a national language policy including the identification of priorities and the allocation of resources.

State conferences to discuss this are taking place this week, and a federal conference will be held in Canberra in October. A national language policy and language planning have virtually arrived in Australia.

I have discussed the question of language and education in a diverse society in more detail elsewhere (Kerr 1981) and further consideration of the implications of language planning for classroom teachers is to be found in Kaplan (1978) and in Ingram (1979). Given the limits of time at this conference however, what I have already covered this morning should introduce the topic adequately to start discussion.

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PART IV

Introduction

An essential element in the discussion of multicultural education is an acknowledgment of the influence of pressure groups and other than educational issues which determine policy.

Papers by Brian Bullivant and Edward Wolf had been distributed. They provided conceptual frameworks within which the topic could be debated.

David Francis refers to the Commonwealth Education Portfolio Group and to the transference of the work of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) to the Curriculum Unit/Branch of the Commonwealth Department of Education. That this occurred, and that the Education Research and Development Committee (ERDC) with its Priorities Advisory Group on Multicultural Education was terminated, is not to be explained in terms of educational theory.

Stan Piperoglou displays the importance of ethnic pressure groups in his case study of the Australian Greek Welfare Society, and Eric Willmott and Vic Forrest speak eloquently of what Aboriginals have and are achieving, and of the problems which arise from the attempts to impose Western educational methods on Aboriginals, whose cultures and languages are very different from Anglo-Australian. The Trades Union Council presented an education policy which helps form the attitudes of its members. The Teachers Unions make themselves felt as a source of influence on policy decisions.

In a democracy, David Francis says:

> A government cannot and perhaps should not seek to go beyond the perceived limits of what society will accept.

The perception of these limits comes from the demands of groups that are vocal in stating their interests.

Commonwealth Initiatives in Multicultural Education*

David Francis

The title given was 'Commonwealth Initiatives in Multicultural Education'. The scope of this paper today is much narrower than this. The term Commonwealth is taken to read Education Portfolio and even within that there is further narrowing, as my experience has been with one agency, namely the Curriculum Development Centre, and my view of the agencies and their programs has undoubtedly been clouded by the position which I have occupied.

A further limitation is that I am reminded that before any policy initiatives are undertaken there ought to be a period of sustained public and professional discussion and debate. The 'ought' and the 'is'. The theme of this workshop concerns political realities and I begin by referring to the actions taken by a Commonwealth Education Portfolio group some little while ago. This group was convened to look at realities and possibilities and to consider such policy planks as election statements, cabinet and ministerial announcements, and particular pieces of legislation as means to advising on policy in education for a multicultural society. At the same time it should be remembered that in governmental spheres there are other than education policy initiatives which have applications to the quality of schooling. But perhaps to acknowledge political reality in these terms is sufficient in the context of the workshop.

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* The section of the paper dealing with a view of multiculturalism and its place in the curriculum is drawn from a CDC unpublished paper prepared by Catharina Koopman, whose thought and experience is gratefully acknowledged.

However, I am aware that many of you, and many others strongly assert the time for discussion and debate is well past, and that action deliberative and concerted is required. Certainly there has been and still is action — action directed towards the noted deficiencies and great yawns in our educational fabric. But the very thrust of this workshop, and indeed the session themes themselves, suggest that we are still in a time when greater conceptual clarity, greater and more considerate policy formulation, and deliberate resource allocation remain as the vital issues. It is with some ease that one can point to differing theories, to the conflicting research findings, to ideological skirmishes, to pressure group politics, to widespread prejudices and to well known band wagonning.

The paper is prefaced in this way because I wish to underscore the tentativeness that should be a hallmark of policy formation. But more particularly it is important to shift the focus a little away from *initiatives* towards the notion of an *evolving responsive, initiatory approach* that has been evidenced by the activities of Commonwealth portfolio agencies in the sphere of education for a multicultural society. During the period April 1978 to the end of 1979 members of the portfolio group met to establish a possible common basis of thinking and action, and inter alia to provide stronger foundation for advice to the Minister for Education on matters of policy. This deliberation was taking place at the same time as the programs and other activities in multicultural education were being determined by each of the portfolio agencies through their own consultative and decision making mechanisms. It is my impression, and indeed recollection of these early discussions of the portfolio group that much time was spent teasing out descriptive and prescriptive uses and meanings of the word 'multicultural', from what often seemed to be no more or less than recourse to an ambitious slogan. Nor do I recall that the group was able to point to any general theory or research findings that might provide the basis for a map of educational thought and action.

It is not therefore surprising that they chose to follow an approach aimed at analysing the various positions already established, indicating some preferences and drawing out some future implications. In taking this approach the portfolio group differed but little from the descriptive and analytical report writing being taken contemporaneously by a committee appointed by the Minister for Education to make recommendations to the Schools Commission on the distribution of Galbally funds for the period 1979-1981, the McNamara Report. And at the same time an advisory panel set up by the Council of the Curriculum Development Centre was at work. But whereas the approach to review, consideration and recommendation is similar in all cases, I would argue that the portfolio group, by narrowing the focus of its inquiry into multiculturalism largely to ethnicity did not prepare a map for the future. The group did not prepare a cultural map that could provide a broad outline of what Australia as a multicultural society might look like — its social structures, processes, relationships, institutions — or in the way in which members might express themselves and communicate with each other — or in determining its values and life styles.

To suggest that the emphasis on ethnic diversity given by the group is misplaced is not an unwillingness to acknowledge that it is a point of great interest in multiculturalism at many political levels, or not to note that it is the focus of much research and social action. But it is argued that as a motif for the analysis of Australian culture such a view tends to exclude a multidimensional and interactionist view of multiculturalism: a view that includes not only the much-emphasised ethnic language dimension, but also those life styles and patterns that have been built around religion, social class, economic and other essential components of culture in Australia throughout the time of settlement.

Perhaps sufficient of the background has been sketched in, and a point of argument entered, for me to suggest that it is possible to view and review Commonwealth involvement over recent years on something akin to a two by two perspective in which the vertical axis has two elements, one concerned with program, the other concerned with policy; and the horizontal axis similarly has two emphases, one concerned with ethnicity and language and the other a more inclusive educative theme. The existence of tension between particular emphasis and focus has been introduced and will be returned to more substantively later.

It is probable that the simplest and most direct way to canvass the program performance of the portfolio agencies is to list them. In so doing I cannot claim with respect to the first three programs that they are anywhere near complete, nor can I refer to the policies from which they were derived. Clearly there are people in this workshop who could provide more accurate, pertinent commentaries, for example as I start with the Commonwealth Schools Commission I look towards Bill Streat. There are however a couple of points that I would wish to make. The Schools Commission currently administers a number of programs with the bulk of funds being allocated to States in block grants and administered by joint government, non-government, multi-education co-ordinating committees for the support of multicultural or community language programs initiated by systems, schools or organisations. In addition to the state-based program the Commission has a program of Projects of National Significance, by which grants are made each year to systems, schools or organisations that can make a national contribution to the development of multicultural education. The Commission cites the following as being areas of national interest: community language including bilingual education, intercultural studies, relationships between parents and schools, and the elimination of monocultural bias in the introduction of multicultural perspectives in curriculum materials. The English as a second language program is the other major component of the Commission's Migrant and Multicultural Education program. Included in this are programs for new arrivals which provide up to six months intensive language training, a program of general support with ESL for students other than new arrivals, mostly second phase learners. Another element of the Commission's funding is that of part-time ethnic schools and the Ethnic Schools Liaison Office. This, as you have seen, is a very brief overview indeed.

Turning to the Commonwealth Department of Education: although the Schools Commission has responsibility for administering the existing programs for migrant and refugee children, the Commonwealth Department maintains a responsibility in regard to general issues in these areas through its Language Teaching Branch. This Branch is responsible for an extensive program of development and production of English language materials for children from non-English speaking backgrounds. It has a number of publications: Learning English in Australia, English Development Materials, including Transit and The Origins Language-History Kit, the Smile Program and others. Moreover the Language Teaching Branch has carriage for the seven recommendations of the Galbally Report, most of which have implications for child migrant education, but one of which relates to the provision of courses of ethnic languages and culture for professionals who work with large numbers of migrant clients. The Branch also continues to be responsible for teacher development through in-service seminars, and by producing teaching materials.

The third portfolio agency to which I will even more briefly refer, is or was, the Education Research and Development Committee, which conducted a large number of research studies in child migrant education. This Committee through the Multicultural Education Priority Area which Barbara Falk chaired, published a number of very significant reports on language planning, the concept of identity in a multicultural society, multilingualism and ethnic schools.

May I reiterate that that is patently a very skeletal skip through the lists. What I can do with some confidence and surety is to deal more fully with the Curriculum Development Centre's view of multiculturalism and its place in curriculum. Prior to 1979 the Centre had begun work on a number of activities in multicultural education. A unit entitled *Australia, a Multicultural Society* was developed by one of the Social Education Materials Project (SEMP) teams in Victoria, and the first phase of a program was under way which included a commissioned statement on rationale for multicultural education prepared by George Smolicz, some research studies in four areas, some school-based development grants, a feasibility study in Italian language teaching, and exploratory studies in language and culture involving Spanish, Turkish, Yugoslav and Greek.

During 1979, the Centre's Council considered the report of its advisory panel and from the list of recommendations and approaches took the view that it was up to individual schools to choose the policies and programs which best suited the needs of their particular community. Council was unsure of the total package presented by the panel and in particular expressed reservation about the emphasis on bilingual and community language programs. Through the recommendations of the McNamara Report, CDC was allocated Galbally money for 1979 in two areas: one, the development of curriculum in community language and two, curriculum development and materials acquisition guides. That the CDC Council expressed reservation about the language programs has already been noted and the ambiguity of the second of the Galbally nominated areas caused Council further difficulty in determining the shape of its program. As a result of the earlier exploratory work and advice received, the Council recommended that the priorities for the Centre should be on social science type programs for all students, teacher development and some assistance to States in developing language programs. The first statement on an emerging policy was given in the Triennial Program

1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-2, where the Centre drew attention to

> . . . the need to examine the education requirements of a multicultural society including the rights of ethnic groups to maintain and foster their ethnic language and cultures, the need for all Australians to promote cultural interaction and the task of developing and sustaining core values and understanding in a pluralist society.

Since then the following specific programs have been developed or are in the process of completion. Again just a quick listing: a set of multicultural case studies entitled *Seventeen Australian Families* which the Centre developed in association with Qantas; a video program with an accompanying teacher's handbook which depicts how a particular primary school introduced a policy, program and set of practices concerned with multicultural education, entitled *You've Got To Start Somewhere;* the funding of the development and trialling of Italian language material with the South Australian Department of Education; the preparation of multilingual materials and a handbook by Dr. Marta Rado; the publication of a book *Culture and Education in a Pluralist Society* written by George Smolicz; the publication of a series of research studies on multicultural education; support for a national conference and an overseas visitor in a community language; the funding of a multilingual children's magazine in Western Australia; and a current project concerned with attitudes and values which involves work in the Newcastle area and two other New South Wales regions. The line is drawn there, not because there are no more projects in the pipeline but because their development will not be under the CDC aegis. Future curriculum work in migrant and multicultural education is to be carried by the Curriculum Unit/Branch within the Commonwealth Department of Education.

But during 1980 the Centre had increasingly developed its thinking about core curriculum and hence increasingly began to view all other programs within that perspective. About core curriculum, we were saying that the core is a core of common values, of understanding of thinking and other skills that all Australians, regardless of ethnicity, religion, class, political affiliation or other aspects of personal or group identity should experience at school. Core curriculum represents the view about the value of cultural homogeneity and integration, and a pluralistic society where divisions exist. Its ultimate concern is with all dimensions of culture, not only the ethnic ones. For example, all individuals differ in the extent to which they value independence from their family and community; conversely the extent to which people value their places within their family or community varies. Such values though having an ethnic component also vary within ethnic groups and are part of the multicultural generality. Similarly religious or values relating to competition and co-operation can be discussed as part of the general picture of culture diversity.

Accordingly, because we were taking this view of core curriculum and we were looking at all programs through that particular set of lenses, the picture of what the Centre believes multicultural education to be became a little clearer.

- First, multicultural education has an historical and a contemporary dimension. Studies of the social, political and economic history of origin must be included. However, the aim is not just to pass on and preserve the historical traditions. The study of changes in culture such as the adoption of changing lifestyles, the development of new political, economic and inter group relationships are important elements in the study of society.
- Second, the definitions imply that multicultural education is concerned with the study of the values and beliefs of both majority and minority groups in this society. Values, attitudes and beliefs of non-English speaking migrant groups in the community have a significant place in such a study which has historically focused on the English speaking traditions.
- Third, multicultural education is not seen as a single subject but an approach which should be part of all subjects and for all students. This approach allows for more than one way of looking at the past, present and future, and acknowledges the contribution of attitudes, values and beliefs from many cultures. In terms of school organisation this dimension had traditionally focused on the social studies, but it can and should be integrated into various subjects across the curriculum. The difficulty in changing or amending existing curriculum patterns and traditions is in itself a major cultural challenge involving parents, teachers and administrators.
- A fourth aspect of multicultural education is that it includes studies of the diverse cultures both within Australia (including ethnic and Aboriginal cultures) and in other societies. Here we emphasise that ethnicity is but one aspect of culture and that other aspects such as religion, social class, etc. should also be considered. The unique position of the indigenous culture should be emphasised in such studies.
- The fifth focus of multicultural education is the need to provide students with opportunities to participate in shaping future relationships within Australian society as a whole: that is, the development of broad human qualities such as tolerance, understanding, compassion etc.

These facets come together in the CDC view with the ideal of a comprehensive Australian identity in which a range of values, beliefs and attitudes are accommodated rather than perpetuating older positions not relevant in the context of Australia as a separate national psychological entity.

The case for a core curriculum which includes multicultural education for all students attempts to balance two key and perhaps almost irreconcilable concepts — the development of a common culture on one hand and the protection of cultural diversity on the other. Various researchers have tried, and continue to try, to explain this tension. Brian Crittenden in his paper *The Question of a Common Core Curriculum* argues on the basis of the common good and basic social morality and concludes that a pluralistic society must accept the central values and procedures of a common political and legal system. Similarly, Barbara Falk in her study *Personal Identity in a Multicultural Australia* states that

> separateness can be accommodated if the exercise of ethnic codes places no restraint on the liberties of others to live by their code. Where there is a clash the codes of the dominant group must prevail.

Smolicz in his book *Culture and Education in a Plural Society* supports this in a significant discussion on the role of supra-ethnic values.

Clearly educational provisions alone cannot solve this dilemma and in our view multicultural education can focus on the study of other cultures and all that implies, but cannot and perhaps should not seek to go beyond the perceived limits of what society will accept. This obviously limits what schools can do and has wide ranging curriculum implications.

Acknowledging these limits there are, nevertheless, a number of ways in which schooling can contribute to improved understanding and appreciation of other cultures and I will briefly refer to five of these.

One: by introducing general programs or studies which aim at fostering in all students an appreciation of the dignity and intrinsic worth of the contribution made by the cultures which exist in our society.

Two: by introducing particular programs or studies which aim at presenting to all students an opportunity to study selected aspects of the historical, social, aesthetic, literary and cultural backgrounds and traditions of particular ethnic groups resident in Australia, especially those of immediate reference to the school and its community.

Three: by offering language programs which provide the opportunity to all children to study a language other than English. The CDC noted in its core curriculum paper some practical difficulties in achieving this goal.

Four: through ESL programs which are aimed at enabling students from non-English speaking backgrounds to learn English to a level of competence such that they can participate fully both in the work of the school and in the activities of the wider community.

Five: by promoting bilingual education programs which allow students to continue to develop their first language skills by learning to read or write in that language whilst learning English.

I believe that the foregoing five points more than amply demonstrate the ways in which schools can provide a sound general education for all students, including a core curriculum which will, in the terms of Malcolm Skilbeck be, 'relevant to a dynamic, integrated model of Australian culture'. But I further believe they need support, encouragement and opportunity to take decisions, to develop relevant curriculum plans, to allocate appropriate resources. I also believe that a framework such as core curriculum is required, for within such a framework a school can build its own program to meet the individual and varying needs of its students and to promote the aims held for education in a multicultural society. We must incorporate the multicultural view and perspective in core curriculum and indeed in total curriculum that reflects the present realities of our population and which points towards options for future social inter-relationship and unity. Thus, the core must acknowledge the reality of students of diverse ethnic, religious, socio-economic backgrounds and with different interests and capabilities, and that they will be working together in common programs and activities. The core must also be that part of education through which integrated culture models of the future are identified, discussed, explored and in certain ways experienced. It is axiomatic that some of these areas of knowledge and experience will incorporate specific ethnic interest dimensions; others will incorporate understanding of those things Australian, those structures, processes, institutions, cultural interests that enable us to function as individuals and members of social groups.

You may well be considering that I have over-emphasised or over-presented one element on that axis of emphasis and focus I introduced a while ago. But perhaps the argument advanced has persuaded you a little more towards that point of view, or perhaps not. Notwithstanding, the debate continues, as it properly should. Significant documents and statements appear which marshal argument and support for a particular focus on language and ethnicity, and it is with this in view that in closing I briefly refer you to a discussion document titled *Towards a National Language Policy* prepared by the Commonwealth Department of Education and shortly to be released.

Investigations undertaken by a working party within the Department have led it to suggest there is a need for 'a comprehensive, balanced and co-ordinated approach to language matters in Australia'. The paper, as I read it, argues for a national language policy. It canvasses issues which need to be raised within the scope of the development of such a policy and it cites known obstacles, recognises that others will emerge in the course of further exploration, and details some possible strategies for future action. Public and professional consensus needs to be sought. The Commonwealth through the Department of Education, in this instance, is taking the role of sponsoring and fuelling some of this discussion and debate. It is exercising a role that might well be described as being an 'initiative'. The appearance of this discussion document is certainly another step on the ladder, another invitation to the dance. It is to be hoped it will evoke response amongst educators and others, similar to the activities and programs of those two former portfolio agencies that enjoyed a statutory status and evoked co-operative responses in the field of education for a multicultural society.

Theories, Practices and Polygenesis — Aboriginal Multicultural Education

Eric Willmott

I would not accept that there is 'an Aboriginal problem' in Australian education. Aboriginal people certainly have perhaps the greatest difficulties of any group in Australia in obtaining the promised outcomes of European education. Educators no doubt have great difficulties in designing and operating education programs which will achieve comparative outcomes for Aborigines. The 'problem', however, relates to the nature of Australian society and to the character of contemporary Australian education systems.

Prior to European dominance on this continent Australian Aboriginal people operated and were served well by their own education system. Aboriginal educational difficulties arose when their own systems were destroyed and they had to make use of an alien form.

In fact, it could be argued that the first problem faced by Aboriginal people in regard to European education was simply gaining access to it.

Prior to 1940 Aborigines were effectively excluded from State schools by the use of an exclusion policy. This was nothing more than a political act and it was responded to politically.

In 1938 William Ferguson published a document, *The Aboriginal Manifesto,* which, while it was the first offer of treaty in a political sense, one of its major demands was educational:

— Educate our children in the same way as yours

The period of the 1940s and 1950s were very much the beginnings of Aboriginal entry into European schooling. As mentioned previously Aboriginal people had been excluded from State schools. This exclusion was effected by a policy which allowed the expulsion of Aboriginal children on the complaint of a white parent. During that period the struggle was to get into schools. By the 1960s it had become clear to educators and Aborigines alike that there was something wrong. The schools were not providing the outcomes that they were held to be able to achieve. Changes were slow, but after the referendum in 1967 a profound change in the attitude of the Commonwealth Government led to the interest and expansion of special provisions for Aborigines which characterised the 1970s.

The 1970s saw a great deal of activity and a variety of puzzling outcomes. In 1970, for instance, there were only twenty Aboriginal people recorded as enrolled in tertiary institutions. By 1974 there were two hundred and three. By 1980 there were eight hundred and eighty one, that is a 4,310% increase. This is remarkable in itself; it is however quite inexplicable in terms of improvements in schooling. There are significant problems within secondary schools that lead us to suspect that, not only has growth been marginal in secondary schools, but outcomes are not likely to improve dramatically in the near future.

In 1979 the N.A.E.C. carried out a study associated with the N.I.T.E. Inquiry. It was an evaluative study of the education of indigenous teachers. It was found that there were two thousand two hundred and seventy Aboriginal students in Year 10 in 1976 in Australian schools. In 1977, in Year 11, this cohort was reduced to seven hundred and seventeen. By 1978 the Year 12 complement was two hundred and thirty seven. The conclusion of that study was that it appeared unlikely that any dramatic improvement would occur in the upper level school leavers in the near future. This would suggest that standard teacher education programs will be unlikely to produce Aboriginal teachers at a much greater rate than they are at present.

Part of the explanation of the Aboriginal tertiary phenomenon may be explained in terms of non-standard post secondary programs. The most important of these are referred to as 'enclave' or 'support enclave' programs. These are units specially constructed within tertiary institutions, which provide a resource base as well as a support environment for Aboriginal students. They also include special staff and in some cases even modified courses. For instance, in Townsville C.A.E. the first year is extended to a two year period, so instead of spending three years on a Dip.T., Aboriginal students will spend three to four years. Whereas at Mt. Lawley and at the Adelaide College of Arts and Education there is a very elaborate orientation program to assist in the early part of the course. These kinds of programs have expanded rapidly. Mt. Lawley was the first college to establish an enclave. Townsville came next, then Adelaide, and now Milperra, Bathurst and others.

There are a number of other kinds of programs which are designed to achieve similar outcomes, but to serve a different part of the Aboriginal community. For example there is North Brisbane Torres Strait Islander training program and the Bachelor program in the Northern Territory. But these are much more than enclaves. They are almost private institutes, in the sense that the students are all from one race.

The enclave programs represent a major new direction in Australian education, not so much in the curriculum but in the way they select people. The N.I.T.E. study found that there were two main criteria of selection. The first was concerned with what we called primary outcomes — general literacy and numeracy. People were not accepted below what was roughly Year 5 level, nor above Year 10 or 11. It was thought that the latter group should go into standard programs. The second criterion related to competence in dealing with white Australian society. The selection procedure included a number of tasks, and these often required getting help from someone else or being able to know how to deal with white Australian systems. Under normal selection procedures you would expect your successes to be the people with the higher schooling outcomes, plus the greater competence in the other society. We found almost the opposite.

The C.A.E. in Townsville by that time had a student population which included twenty-six per cent Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Today it is past thirty per cent. Here then is one C.A.E. in which thirty per cent of the student body are Aborigines. Most of the social life of that college, in the Union and the S.R.C., is run by the Kooris. These Aboriginal students are surviving because of strong motivation. They are not very competent in the white Australian society but they are very competent in their own. They are practised in collective action.

In Aboriginal society there are no traditions which relate to European style education; no traditions of studying or even of being a student. This is changing as Aboriginal people become more involved in Western style education. One of the difficulties for Aboriginal students is simply to be a 'student'. They are surrounded by other young Aboriginal people with other things on their minds. It is very difficult for an Aboriginal student to explain why he can't come out on the town with friends, that he has to finish an essay. The survivors are in fact very competent in their own society.

The foregoing discussion offers no solution to the educational problem; in fact it has tended to make the situation appear more complex. It has, however, indicated that the problem is as much social as it is educational.

It is my view that there are two kinds of societies on Earth today, indigenous societies, and polygeneric societies. I would define indigenous people as those whose race memories and ancestral history belong only to the place they inhabit. The migrant is somebody whose race memories and ancestral history belong elsewhere. I imagine that over a very long period these things could change; then they are no longer migrants. You do not have to be a migrant forever.

For Aborigines there is no other human experience but this place. There is no mythology outside of Australia, no stories of migration, no experience of anything but this place.

China, France and Japan are examples of indigenous societies. Examples of polygeneric societies are Canada, U.S.A., the South American States, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. Experiments in polygenesis in Kenya and what was called Rhodesia have failed. I am not sure exactly where Singapore, Malaysia and Israel lie in relation to this discussion; and there may be a transitional category. There have obviously been many polygeneric societies in the past, and I am sure Australia has been through this process before.

There are two obvious ends to polygenesis. Both lead to indigenisation. One is genocide. This involves the extinction of one or more subgroups. Genocide is only effective if you are really successful in getting rid of all of the opposition. European Tasmanians bear witness to this.

The other simple solution is miscegenation, the inter-mating of races. This can be a pleasant process, but it is painfully slow. It is certainly the approach adopted in the South American States.

I would see experiments like the South American States, the U.S.A. and Canada as more or less successful. I would also assess New Zealand as a success, although it is a different kind of polygeneric society. It is a covenant society, the covenant being in the form of the Witangi Treaty. Rhodesia, on the other hand, was quite a different experiment. Nevertheless failure of these societies may have certain common factors. You may recall that Ian Smith said of Rhodesia that that experiment failed not so much because of black African opposition but because the deal seemed to go sour for the Europeans. They went home or somewhere. The Europeans are mostly responsible for the modern polygeneric society but they seem to be the element for which the deal goes sour. New Zealand has, over the recent past, been suffering a net loss of European population. Australia is the last experiment in this type of society, and perhaps the deal may also go sour here.

Clearly, then, the solution to successful polygenesis lies within the character of the groups of people which constitute the experimental society. The character lies within their commonality and their differences.

An experiment carried out with tertiary students in South Australia by Geoffrey Coyne sheds some light on this issue. He used the Rokeach value inventories on two groups. One was a mixed-race Aboriginal group and the other an equivalent number of non-Aboriginal students. From the inventories Coyne could find no significant differences in the values of the two groups. This unexpected result was compared with projective tests which asked each group to record the values of the other. This second test recorded very different results. Although the first test showed the groups to have common values, they each identified the second group as distinctly different from themselves. They saw their identities as different.

The crux of ethnicity is identity. The DNA in every human cell contains enough information to build a human being, but it does not contain a recipe of his or her personal identity. I came to understand something of this when my youngest daughter was born. Someone gave her the traditional gift of a Russian doll. This doll is a complex hollow; dolls which fit inside each other. I had the impression that somewhere locked up in the system was the secret of this peculiar Russian thing, but the innermost doll I found was exactly the same as the outermost. It contained no further information. It was going through the process of putting it back that led me to the secret. Unless I put it back together in a particular way it didn't go back together. The information wasn't contained in any particular part; it was the going together; it was the way they were embedded, one into another; and it was the same embeddedness that is the secret of polygeneric identities.

In indigenous societies these identities are relatively simple, and in a sense the primary identity of the whole society. When we consider polygeneric societies, identities are more complex. The identity slate of each group is written on by other people. This results in a strange, mixed, embedded nature that is puzzlingly different to the primary ethnic identity.

I have had some experience of polygeneric nations that have a higher order identity beyond this polygeneric puzzle. This I believe to be especially true of the U.S.A. where a powerful national identity tends to transcend other group identities.

My experience of Australia is just the opposite. Australia has adherents of three different flags, to say nothing of the controversy which surrounds our national anthem. We Australians, as yet, don't have a higher order identity. I am not sure how such a thing develops. In the United States it is certainly promoted through an educative process carried out in the schools. But I believe that the promotion of this identity has a political origin. It is curious that Australian politicians don't promote such a process. Our present Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, is the first I have seen trying to reflect an identity beyond his own primary identity. How long it will take us to achieve a higher order identity I do not know, or whether we ought to even try. Perhaps there is a different way for us. Perhaps we should go back to something like genocide or miscegenation.

This same problem is reflected in the social policy of multiculturalism. It seems to be a process more than an end state. It seems to answer the 'how' questions, but not the 'what' questions. It tells us *how* we should be, *how* we *are* to be. Perhaps the 'what' questions are the eventual result of the resolution of disputes.

It was said this morning that the Aboriginal side of multiculturalism had been institutionalised by the creation of a Department of Aboriginal Affairs and bodies like the A.D.C. and N.A.C. It is the disputes that are being institutionalised, not the Aboriginal side of multiculturalism. There are some real disputes — for instance, who owns this land? In the present milieu of the community of nations, Aborigines have been shrewd enough to take advantage of the political power which can be drawn from such emotive causes. There is nothing wrong with disputes. Any community living together and becoming a nation has some tough business to be dealt with. You have to get in there and scratch a bit of skin and fur off each other from time to time. Unfortunately this struggle has become for Australians a balance of weaknesses, and the explanation lies far in the past.

The original end of the isolation of the Australians came with the Macassar visits to the Northern Territory some thousand years ago. The people from Macassar, however, were engaged in more or less commercial ventures. When the Europeans arrived on the East coast it was quite different. They had decided they wanted to stay. The Aborigines didn't simply say: 'Come in brother, you can have this land'. Quite the contrary. There is ample evidence of fierce resistance put up by Aborigines. Unfortunately they had no history or traditions of military organisation as did, for instance, Maoris. Nevertheless some of the campaigns were substantial.

It was a sad sort of war, curiously like the mythical war of H.G. Wells between Earth and Mars. If you recall, the Earth people won because they had a secret ally, bacteria, which destroyed the Martians. The British in Australia had the same secret ally. There was no treaty; there was no surrender; and the British were not conquerors. The real victors were measles, influenza, syphilis and smallpox. By the time the South Australian settlements were established it has been estimated that nearly 50% of the South Australian population was dead. I believe that Australians as a race would have perished if it hadn't been for the evolution of the Diaspora. Mixed-race people did have the resistance and the capacity to withstand those diseases and rapidly increase the population. It was only really in the very late 1950s and early 1960s that the fully descendant population started to recover.

So the first weakness was a war that nobody won and nobody lost. It is still being fought in another area of weakness, 'who owns the place?' The argument used by the British in taking possession of Australia was that 300,000 Aborigines underpopulated the country and didn't properly utilise it, and therefore forfeited their right to it. The same argument could be used by anyone else today. We have still failed to populate this country at anything like the rate of the rest of the world. This is our second area of weakness.

The new Europeans who arrived after World War II were prepared to assimilate in keeping with what was official Australian policy up till 1969. (The National Party in Queensland affirmed assimilation as the policy for Aboriginal development in that State in 1980.) Later the new Europeans refused to accept assimilation. They had, however, already weakened their case by accepting assimilation in the first place. This is the third element of our weakness. The boat people, as refugees, would have had a much more powerful argument to join this society had they opted for the empty spaces of the North. Their weakness is that they much prefer to live in Melbourne or Sydney.

Our politics are a process of balancing these weaknesses, one against the other. This, I believe, not only leads to the character of Australian political debate, but also to the form of our social and educational provisions.

Educational philosophies in Australia represent the sides of some debate or other. They reflect our weaknesses, not our strengths. Education provision for Aborigines and other special groups are no exception.

The Aboriginal response to this situation has been to develop policies, both at national and community levels, towards strategic separatism. These policies call for a variety of independent educational institutions and programs designed to prepare young people separately to cope successfully with eventual integration. The actual provisions range from independent schools to separate tertiary programs. The philosophy is:

Let us join with the others when we can cope with them

In the long term, however, the solution to the problems that we encounter today will only be resolved when we can answer the 'what' questions. Australia, like Africa and Europe, has witnessed a total human experience. When we fully understand and appreciate this heritage, when we evolve from being embeddlings in a polygeneric experiment, we can all take part in the fulfilment of the dream of an Island nation society.

Cultural and Linguistic Factors Affecting the Educational Achievements of Aboriginals — An Aboriginal Perspective*

*Vic Forrest***

Introduction

Much has been written on Aboriginal education both within Western Australia and Australia generally but, in terms of the delivery of education to Aboriginal students, it can be argued that there has been little change in the attitude of those in control.

In the climate where there is a general movement away from teacher education and an emphasis on tertiary institutions to develop in other areas, a danger exists that Aborigines will continue to have teachers with little or no knowledge of the historical, cultural and linguistic differences that impede the development and achievements of Aboriginal children in the classroom.

It is within this context that this paper, in looking at Aboriginal education, will examine some of the following points:

(a) definitions of Aboriginality;

(b) the nature of cultural differences;

(c) the exclusion years in Western Australia;

(d) Government policies;

(e) language as a barrier; and

(f) current achievements of Aboriginal students.

It is realised that even this approach is limited when one is attempting such a broad topic. Other areas that need to be mentioned include the

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debate on the educability of Aboriginals; the standards of housing, health and employment; and racism and the degree of overall general acceptance by white Australians who have been socialised to reject Aboriginal people. The above-mentioned areas themselves need to be researched to gain an understanding of race relations in Australia and their bearing on education for the Aboriginal child at school. These issues are too broad for the purpose of this paper.

Attitudes of the average white Australian toward Aborigines have undergone a dramatic change in the last few decades. From a history ranging from complete genocide in Tasmania to the exploitation of cheap labour in the north, Australians in recent years have, for the first time, had to examine their guilt-ridden consciences and think about the original inhabitants. The process has been quite a painful one and will continue to be so until some solutions acceptable to all parties are found. It is in this framework that the paper takes direction. Not to lay blame at anyone's feet but to open dialogue in order that a meaningful discussion can be had.

Without education and the ability to read and write English is to deny access to resources within the community. If educators fail to provide Aborigines a reasonable grounding in literacy and numeracy then they are denying them their rights as citizens. Basically, this paper will examine some of these denials and will endeavour to see if they still exist within the educational system today. But, first, one needs to ask: Who is the Aboriginal?

The Aboriginal

Under this broad heading there is a lot of misunderstanding and confusion of the biological and the cultural. Aboriginal people and societies range from the traditional hunter and gatherer through to people, often the product of miscegenation, who live very assimilated lives within mainstream society in Australia. The diversity of social stratification and affiliations of tribal groups makes it hard to identify exactly who is an Aboriginal.

The 1905 Aborigines Act of Western Australia deemed that a person of one quarter blood to a full blood came under the definition of an Aboriginal. Hence the child of a half blood Aboriginal woman and a white man was described as a quarter blood (or caste as it was generally referred to). That child had automatic citizenship rights and didn't come under the Aborigines Act. Later, when that child reached adulthood, he or she was allowed all the privileges of white Australians.

This caused severe stress on the extended family, particularly when the child was alienated by European-Australian law. The present definition of Aboriginality used by the Federal Government is that:

> Any person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Island descent and who is accepted by the community as such, is deemed an Aboriginal.
>
> (Aboriginal Affairs Newsletter, 1975: 61)

This definition may be fine but when the State Education Department of Western Australia is asked to bring into existence a bilingual education program for Aborigines, the question arises as to where to begin and with what language, bearing in mind that there are over fifty Aboriginal languages in Western Australia.

Cultural Differences

As indicated above, Aborigines represent a whole spectrum of cultural differences and within the spectrum there are different needs at varying levels. With detribalised urban Aborigines, needs in education would be similar to white Australians but, rather than labour discussion on this group, this paper will concern itself with the more traditionally-oriented Aborigines.

From birth to pre-school, children from the latter group are oriented into different cultural norms and mores. In personal relationships, kinship ties are still of major importance and the child is enculturated with these. Most possessions are shared with the extended family, not the alienation of oneself into a nuclear family. Time does not have the same significance for Aborigines as it does for the middle class white Australian. The value of time as the regulator of everyday activity is incomprehensible to Aborigines and thus a school day, with rigidly divided time segments, poses problems for Aboriginal students (Binnion, 1974).

One could continue listing differences in culture that affect the performance of Aboriginal students in these situations, but suffice to say that it presents serious problems when the child reaches school and is confronted with a completely new set of cultural values and expectations. Here again it would be important for a teacher to have some background knowledge of the exclusion years in Western Australia and the effect these had on the indigenous population. What were these exclusion years?

Exclusion Years

From the turn of the century through until 1946, the exclusion of Aborigines and part Aborigines from the state school system was a widespread practice in Western Australia. (For a broader discussion of exclusion, see Forrest, 1979).

Exclusion resulted mainly from the pressures of the Parents and Citizens Associations and supported by the Education Department. Quite often the claim was that, because of the living conditions of the Aborigines, diseases were spread when their children attended schools. Using this excuse, the Education Department managed to exclude Aborigines from almost the entire school system in the south-west of the State. Further pressure from the Parents and Citizens Associations caused the Minister to allow any teacher in the Education Department to suspend Aboriginal pupils on their own initiative up to 1936 (Biskup, 1973: 191). Teachers suspended children who did not conform to the standards required of white pupils and, to quote:

> Because of their home surroundings or low morals are not fit for association with white children.
>
> (Native Affairs File 330/1936)

Aborigines were caught in a 'catch twenty-two' situation. On the one hand, they could attend school if they were clean and tidy but, on the other hand, it was assumed that their low morals made them unfit to associate with white school children.

Living conditions for Aborigines were poor, to say the least, and often the reserve was situated more than three miles from the school. This ensured that Aboriginal children were kept out of schools because of the three mile limit (Forrest, 1979). Often the local shire would not connect scheme water to reserves because of the fear that taps would not be turned off and water would be wasted (Biskup, 1973: 150). This made it impossible for the people, living in sordid conditions, to keep clean. Added to the lack of water, shires often refused to remove rubbish from reserves, which compounded the problem of unhygienic surroundings. In response to the exclusion, the Native Welfare Department opened up the Moore River Settlement and another one at Carrolup. Under the guardianship clause of the 1905 Aboriginal Act of Western Australia, the Chief Protector of Aborigines could remove children up to the age of sixteen from their parents and place them as inmates into these institutions. The idea was that training would be given so that when the children left the settlement they could obtain employment. The settlements were seen in a different light by the white population and police began to shift Aborigines from towns and reserves and remove them to the settlements. In January 1915 the police shifted all Aborigines from Katanning to Carrolup (Biskup, 1973, pp.153-4). The same practice occurred at Guildford in 1918, Northam in 1932, Moora in 1920, and Quairading in 1919.

By 1946, due to the World War and the demands by Aboriginal ex-servicemen, the Education Department resumed responsibility for educating Aborigines. Separate schools were set up and government teachers were employed on the various settlements. Church missions had to raise their standards of education and inspectors started to visit these schools.

Government Policies

Section 116 of the Australian Constitution stated, prior to its amendment in 1967, that

> Aboriginal natives shall not be counted.

Early policies of the colonial and state governments were those of protection and segregation. These policies were doomed to failure because protection meant segregation and denial of access to education. The new concept of assimilation was introduced in 1939 as the Commonwealth Government's Aboriginal Policy. But very few Aborigines were allowed to assimilate. The aims of this policy were to increase education and training and:

> The future assimilation of the native into the white race of Australia will present a decreasing problem.
> (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Native Welfare, 1950)

The Commissioner went on to say that prejudice and segregation were widespread in the south of the State. Aborigines were forced to live in deplorable conditions on reserves. Local authorities generally were reluctant to permit reticulation of their scheme water to native reserves for fear of wastage. Further, it adds that it created an attitude of hostility toward whites by the Aborigines. This was born of disappointment and indignation and resulted in a shunning of social contact with whites. The victim was blamed for his social conditioning. It was seen as an inability on the part of Aborigines to assimilate but, during the period after the World War, Aborigines were still excluded from such things as football and cricket matches, horse races and trotting meetings, cinemas and hotels.

After the 1967 referendum Aborigines became Australian citizens, and reform, particularly in upgrading social benefits (that is, housing, health, access to the law and legal aid), and spending on education was part of the political platform. With all this money now available, research work on the status of Aboriginal education began in earnest.

People such as C.D. Rowley (1974), C. Tatz (1969), K. Punch & P. Tannock (1975) of the University of Western Australia, and many others, began to build up a profile of social and cultural differences that affect the Aboriginal child at school. Linguistic studies by people such as Kaldor & Malcolm (1980), Vaszolyi (1976), and Douglas (1976) have helped to produce a wider understanding of the reasons why Aboriginal children have learning problems. Language itself can alienate people and, in areas where the traditional language is spoken, one wonders how much learning occurs when the teacher speaks only English.

Language as a Barrier

This is probably the most difficult area to discuss, bearing in mind that the meaning of words differ if not sounded correctly. Vaszolyi (1976) points out that, because of different vowel systems, Aboriginal children may find difficulty in distinguishing the English vowels /EE/, /i/ and /e/. Take, for example, the Western Desert language, Pitjantjatjara, where such sounds as /P/ and /V/, /S/ and /Z/, and such patterns in English as the voiced/voiceless distinctions do not exist. When an 'English only' speaking teacher presents new sounds to the Aboriginal child, the speech sounds of English do not correspond with the phonemes of his own language. The child mimics the sound, or to the nearest possible equivalent, in his own language. This shows up thus:

> finger will sound like pinger (actually pingka)
> fire will sound like byre (actually paya)
> fish will sound like bitch (actually pitji)

and often a teacher may be tempted to think that remedial treatment is needed when he himself lacks a knowledge of language differences.

Douglas (1976) suggests that quite often phonological levels are so closely tied up with physical ones that vernacular speaking children find it difficult to disentangle them. He gives an example from Ernabella Mission:

> Sounds are so strange for them (Aborigines) that when I spell out PIT and ask what does that say, someone will answer 'bed'.

> I go over it again: Now listen PIT it says pit. Then I ask what a pit is? 'Yes, dat fer sleeping' says one of the boys.
>
> (Douglas, 1976: 67)

The problem of course ties in with cultural linguistic usage. The three vowel positions of /a/, /i/, /u/ and the lack of a voiced/voiceless distinction makes it difficult to hear sound differences. 'Pit' then becomes the equivalent of 'bed'. The difficulty of language is further borne out by Kaldor & Malcolm (1980) who show that often Aboriginal children just do not know what the teacher has said, because of differing sounds. The 'English only' approach to educating Aboriginal children must be changed if justice is to be done. As A.P. Elkin (1964) stated:

> The method of teaching English directly to non-English speakers without using the latters' language as a medium, has not proved as successful as was hoped. It is satisfactory for the first year or two with reference to concrete objects and situations. To go further, however, a bridge is needed between indigenous concepts and those the teacher seeks to introduce; and unless the local language is used as the main structure of that bridge, the child is apt to flounder and seem unable to go beyond rote achievement.
>
> (Elkin, 1964: 149-150)

Current Achievement

The one hundred and fifty years of contact with Europeans has produced in Western Australia twenty-five Aboriginal teachers, and seven graduates of the University of Western Australia, Murdoch University and the Western Australian Institute of Technology.

At present there are ten thousand Aboriginal students attending government schools in Western Australia. For the majority of these children, particularly those in high school, their school experience is one of failure.

According to the Commonwealth Department of Education, which administers the Aboriginal Secondary Grant Scheme, seventy-five per cent of Aboriginal high school students in Western Australia are achieving at a basic level in the Achievement Certificate Award. What does this mean and can we continue to blame the victim for his poor results? Perhaps more relevant questions to ask may include some about the Achievement Certificate:

(a) What cultural bias is there in the syllabus which alienates Aboriginal students?

(b) How relevant is the curriculum in traditional Aboriginal communities?

This problem is compounded by the fact that very few of the practising teachers in this state have a working knowledge of Aboriginal culture. This aside, there is also the realisation that parental support is lacking because of their own failure in the education system. Against this backdrop the picture is indeed gloomy.

Of one cohort of three thousand and forty students who attended high school from 1973 to 1976 only one hundred sat for the Western Australian Tertiary Admission Examination. These figures prepared by the Commonwealth Education Department, indicate the great wastage of Aboriginal students and the urgent need for a review of the whole of the education system that is being delivered, as well as in the type of undergraduate training being offered to future teachers. There is a need for compulsory core units on Aboriginal culture in teacher education programs so that some of the wastage of Aboriginal students can be curbed.

Summary

In summary, the writer has shown that cultural contact has had a drastic effect on Aboriginal society, particularly in the field of education. The exclusion years left their mark by creating a group of people who can only be described as culturally disadvantaged, that is, the traditional lifestyle was destroyed and the lack of education denied them a transition into the dominant culture.

Government policies were slow to respond and even today, with an 'English only' approach to education for Aborigines, there is the creation of an atmosphere of alienation, particularly for traditionally orientated groups.

It is realised, however, that when it comes to identifying who is the Aboriginal there are problems. A blanket approach to Aboriginal education is not the answer for it must be recognised that there are different needs at different levels of integration.

In the area of language differences, educators must seriously look at and consider bilingual education. Student teachers should be made aware of Aboriginal cultures and cultural differences, particularly in the areas of language and language structures. The Australian ideal in education is equality. If we are to reach this goal, then we must recognise, accept and teach cultural diversification. The numbers of Aboriginal students who are achieving at basic levels in the Achievement Certificate can only be seen as an indictment against the present education system. (See Table 1.)

As stated at the beginning of this paper, one does not seek to blame people today for past failure but, more importantly, to open the way for meaningful discusson and dialogue between educators and Aboriginals over their education needs.

TABLE 1: RETENTION FIGURE OF ABORIGINAL STUDENTS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

(Showing only students on Aboriginal Grants — applicable as at 30 June each year)

YEAR	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
8	**704**	**795**	**703**	**818**	763	834	1006	1062
9	554	615 (87.4%)	638 (80.3%)	611 (86.9%)	637 (77.9%)	686 (89.9%)	685 (82.1%)	783 (77.8%)
10	311	366	376 (52.1%)	448 (56.4%)	431 (61.3%)	486 (59.4%)	531 (69.6%)	548 (65.7%)
11	69	66	87	110 (15.6%)	139 (17.5%)	134 (19.1%)	140 (17.1%)	169 (22.1%)
12	11	23	13	29	35 (5.0%)	35 (4.4%)	34 (4.8%)	30 (3.7%)
Percentage of students proceeding from Yr 10 to Yr 11	–	21.2	23.8	29.3	31.0	31.1	28.8	31.8
Percentage of students proceeding from Yr 11 to Yr 12	–	33.3	19.7	33.3	31.8	25.1	25.4	21.4
Percentage of students in Yrs 11 and 12	4.9	4.8	5.5	6.9	8.7	7.8	7.3	7.6

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Ethnic Community Organisations: A Potential for Influence in Education for a Multicultural Society

Stan Piperoglou

There has been hardly any academic interest in the development of the role of ethnic communal organisations in the enhancement of multiculturalism in Australia. When one examines the area where I would suggest multiculturalism has had its most lasting impression, and I use the word *impression* deliberately, in the area of education for a multicultural society, one finds a great lack of analysis and narrative on the impact of ethnic communal organisations. To some extent this is understandable. It is understandable firstly because the impact of communal organisations in this area, as is the area itself, has been relatively recent, and secondly because of the difficulty of getting adequate information from ethnic communities that fits into an academic framework. This of course is not to say that the area is completely barren. Michael Tsounis' work in South Australia is one exception.

Because of a lack of available information I have adopted a somewhat pragmatic approach to the topic. I have adopted this as well because it will give me a little bit more flexibility to make some conclusions regarding observations that I have made during the ten years I have been working in this area. The capacities in which I have worked in this area were as student teacher, as a teacher at an inner suburban high school, a voluntary worker for an ethnic community agency, for three years as a full time worker for that same community agency, and more recently as a teacher again, this time in an outer western suburban high school in Melbourne.

The approach that I have decided to adopt today is the *case study approach* and of course everyone is very familiar with the difficulties of this approach. However, I think it will allow certain applicable generalisations to be made about the role of ethnic community organisations in the area of education for a multicultural society. The case that I am going to use will be the Australian Greek Welfare Society and right at the outset I should mention that there are some difficulties here because the Australian Greek Welfare Society, or the AGWS as I will refer to it throughout this talk, is to some extent a unique organisation in

Australia. It is unique not only in origins but in its present range, scope and breadth. In a way Victoria itself is unique, as I suppose are other states unique to their particular situation. One great difference I can think of in Victoria when compared to for example, New South Wales, is that in New South Wales you have a very strong federative agency of ethnic communities called the Ethnic Communities Council of New South Wales, and while we have an Ethnic Communities Council in Victoria it is a far looser body, with ethnic communities themselves being far stronger. I thought it might be worthwhile spending a couple of minutes talking about what the Australian Greek Welfare Society is. Why I am doing that is to give people an understanding that education is just one of the areas that AGWS is concerned about. AGWS is working in four major areas.

1. The general area of welfare in which it has about six staff — mostly social workers and welfare workers.
2. The area of youth, where it has two youth workers.
3. The area of education where it has 2.5 workers.
4. The area of child care with a child care centre in the inner Melbourne suburb of Richmond which has a staff of ten.

Funding comes from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, from the State Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation, and from the Federal Schools Commission. The child care money comes from both state and federal sources. Now you will note, and this has been a deliberate policy of the organisation, that not much fund raising goes on, and in fact something like ninety-six per cent of all funds that come into the organisation come from government sources. The philosophical stand to that is quite clear. Greek Australians pay taxes like everyone else, and the philosophical stand the organisation takes is that such services need to be provided from government sources to ethnic communities.

The AGWS was set up in 1972, so we have been operating for about ten years. We have a monthly public meeting on an issue related to multiculturalism and that is held on the third Tuesday of the month at our Richmond headquarters. For example, the April meeting was on the outcome of the state elections and we had one of the new government advisers there to talk about what that meant for ethnic communities. The March meeting was on education for a multicultural society. At that meeting the then Deputy Leader of the Opposition and now Deputy Premier was the guest speaker. We publish a journal called *Greek Action Bulletin* and that comes out four times a year. We also have a program which we call *A Programme for the '80s* which is a collection of all our policy documents for various areas. Since it began in 1972 AGWS has had a commitment to education. It has had that commitment ever since it saw the challenges of educating for a multicultural society were not being met in any concerted way either by state or federal departments. In some ways the involvement of the society in education climaxed in the last years of the 1970s by the Schools Commission granting money to the Society to establish its Educational Liaison Team. I will be speaking about some of the things that team has done.

The other point that I do want to mention at this stage is in terms of policy. People talk about policy and talk about what multicultural education is, and what ought to be done. As far as we are concerned, although it does have its imperfections, we released our policy document for public scrutiny last November. In this document we have separated five major areas of education for a multicultural society — English as a Second Language; Community Languages; Multicultural Perspectives Across the Curriculum; Bilingual Education and Ethnic Studies. We have suggested what ought to be done at a state and federal level in terms of implementing those five areas. We have based our whole education policy on three principles — the principle of the maintenance and development of community languages and cultures in Australia; equality of opportunity and benefit in the education system; and participation by the communities within the education system at local, regional, state and federal levels. *So the development of community languages and cultures within the Australian context, equality and participation are the three principles on which our whole policy is based.* I won't go through it because people will have the opportunity to do that themselves, but it deals with community languages, ethnic schools, ESL, multicultural perspectives, and it mentions something about tertiary institutions. We make some comments on TAFE and adult education. We are one of the few ethnic communities that recognise special education as an area of our concern. As well, we have in our introduction expressed our deep concern about the question of the role of Aboriginal languages and cultures and we have stated that such cultures ought to have proper influence, and we support participation of the Aboriginal community within the education system. I think we would probably be very much alone amongst the communities in this regard.

I suppose that some people are saying: 'Well you have been talking about the policy stand, about the general initiatives in Australian Greek welfare, but what actually have you done?' That is a fair point. I have made a list of seven points which I will very quickly go through.

1. I think one of the things the Society has done is supported, and where necessary, criticised initiatives in the system.

Individual schools will for example, ring us and say: 'Look, we want to introduce a Greek language program. How do we go about it? What is the procedure in dealing with the department?' With our expertise we will help schools to develop submissions, philosophies and programs for the introduction of community languages at the school level. That is a *reactive* area where we have supported initiatives that the system itself has got off the ground.

2. The second area is that of *lobbying* both politicians and the bureaucracy. For example, a few years ago in 1978, the former Director General of Education was under some pressure to write a policy document. Ian Adams and I worked together on that document and it eventually got through, in rather congested form, but it certainly got through. We have spent much time over the years in talking to people within the system in terms of what to do about things like English as a second language and bilingual education, and in talking to people in

various divisions of the Education Department in Victoria about what we feel they ought to be doing. Sometimes you are taken seriously; more often than not they regard you as just another interest group that they at least have to see if not do anything about.

Liaison with political parties has also been something with which the Society has been involved and I think that there is some imprint of this in the present policy of the government concerning education for a multicultural society. For the first time we have a political party in Victoria talking about, and I am quoting:

> Every person has the right to maintain and develop their home language and culture. A Labor Government will ensure that community languages are taught in primary and secondary schools where there is a demonstrated need.

To get any political party to talk about community languages and cultures as a right is something of a big change in the Victorian education scene, and the Greek community as well as a lot of other ethnic communities have been working hard to try to get some reasonable policies put forward. The policy goes on to talk about English as a second language, community languages, adult migrant education, support services and participation. I quote from the Victorian Government policy on participation of ethnic communities in the education system.

> The Victorian Labor Government will consult ethnic communities on the effectiveness of existing programs and services, and on the development of new initiatives at central as well as regional and local levels.

So the Society has been working reasonably hard in this area. I will say though that the Society views its role in education for a multicultural society and its role generally as being an important one. We will talk to anyone who will listen to us and I think there are very few organisations that could boast that during the 1977 election the leaders of the three parliamentary parties visited them in that year as they did us.

3. The other area in which we have been involved is what I call *liaison with other organisations involved in education*. We have been working for quite a few years now with the teacher unions and with the parent organisations. I myself helped ACSSO, the Australian Council of State School Organizations, develop its policy on education for a multicultural society. We have worked closely in the development of policy with organisations like the Victorian Federation of State School Parents Clubs. We have worked as well with the federal teacher organisation body, the ATF.

4. The fourth area, for want of a better term, I will call *committee sitting*. Anyone who has had anything to do with education will know that committees do exist. Representatives of Australian Greek Welfare have sat on the committee set up by the now defunct CDC on education for a multicultural society. We still have an involvement with the Victorian Advisory Committee on Migrant and Multicultural Education. We have sat on various local supplementary grants committees, and so on. If you

are looking for change straight away you do not sit on a committee. That is the first thing I suppose my experience has been. What committee sitting has done for us at Greek Welfare, and I am sure for other people in ethnic communities as well, is that it has given us experience in how to deal with the bureaucracy, and I think in the long term this experience will be quite crucial. The second thing that it has done is enabled the bureaucrats to begin, sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly, to understand the viewpoints and concerns of ethnic communities. And while one may be a little bit sarcastic, a bit cynical about committees and what they do, if viewed in a long term context I think they have been and will continue to be a reasonably important part of ethnic community endeavours.

5. The fifth area that the Society has been involved in is the general area of *community education,* by which I mean that we have made policy statements and drawn to the attention of the wider community the challenge of education for a multicultural society. When we have been worried about something and have tried other avenues to get things done, we are not averse to sending out the odd media release. We are not averse to making our points very public in the media. Now that has offshoots. It means that you get stereotyped reasonably quickly. It means that one of the good things that happens is that you get invitations to speak to groups from whom you would never get invitations in the normal course of your activities. Now that is one of the good things about public exposure. It also puts a proper relationship between the organisation and the political and the bureaucratic system. The other area of our community education is within our own community. Over the years we have done quite a lot of work with parents in informing them of their rights within the school system. We have, as well, done quite a bit of work in this area with students. Through such avenues as ethnic radio or a column in our Greek newspaper we have talked about the changes that are continually happening in education in Victoria. The changes in assessment at the end of secondary school would be one example. The whole new emphasis in school/work transition would be another. The re-structuring of the Victorian education system which is going on at the moment and how this is going to affect schools (if it does at all) will be another area of our concern.

6. The sixth area is more generally our *work with parents.* The Society in 1978 set up the Victorian Federation of State School Greek Parents Association. The Federation was set up by the direct initiative of the Society and its Education Liaison Team. In its work the team saw that there were six or seven Greek parent groups in the Melbourne metropolitan area at that time. Schools were asking us to help them communicate with their Greek parent groups, and we indeed helped them, and set up another ten Greek parent groups. We eventually got these organisations together and worked on a constitution with them. Incidentally, this constitution was based on the constitution of the Victorian Federation of State School Parents Clubs, by design and not by accident. That organisation has done a great deal in the area of parent rights in Victoria. The Victorian Federation of State School Greek Parents Associations was set up and is now a completely separate and autonomous

organisation and receives money to fund some of its activities, mainly the salary of its Executive Officer. We regard that as being a tremendously important area of our work in the past and an area that we feel has great potential for the future.

We have worked with other Greek communal organisations and other ethnic communities in order to discuss matters of mutual concern and interest, and the then Director of the Education Liaison Team was the first Chairman of the Education Committee of the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria.

7. Another area that is going to be increasingly important as far as communities are concerned is the area of *pre-school education* for a multicultural society. I do not know whether the College of Education has any educators involved in that area but it certainly is an area in which the AGWS is very much involved. We have set up the first fully bilingual day care centre in Richmond and in so doing we have had the support of people within the Victorian Education Department, although no funding support from anyone yet.

In terms of what is being done that is about the extent at the moment. However, it ought to be mentioned that the AGWS is not directly involved in the area of ethnic schools. I was a little bit puzzled on Monday night when someone asked George Smolicz if ethnic schools ought to exist. That, to me, is not the right question. That is like someone asking in the 1970s whether a multicultural society existed. Well of course it did and Grassby put the point well in 1974 when he said that a multicultural society exists. That is not the question any more. The question is how do we cope with it, and similarly with ethnic schools. They do exist. The question is how does the system, how does the society, how do academics cope with their existence? I think it must be said they are viewed with great suspicion by most of the educational community. However the point ought to be made that until the state systems organise themselves properly in terms of community language and bilingual teaching there is no other realistic choice for ethnic communities to enable maintenance and development of language and culture. That is why I was tremendously gratified yesterday when we did receive some preliminary news of the ethnic schools survey indicating that most ethnic school teachers wanted to see their languages introduced into the state school system. I hope that those survey results indeed prove this to be the case. I would suggest that what we need to do with ethnic schools is to start to evolve mechanisms whereby the systems and the ethnic schools can co-operate with each other, hopefully in an atmosphere of mutual trust and not in an atmosphere of suspicion, which any analysis of the situation would agree is the case at present.

Now after having said that, I then ask myself the question:

> To what extent have the Australian Greek Welfare Society and other ethnic community organisations influenced the education systems of this State?

Of course that is not an easy question to answer, especially since such things cannot readily be measured. I will point, however, to some positive things. Overall, I think that some of the results can be recognised in some of our discussions at this Institute. I think that support for community languages and bilingual education programs in the general community has increased. I think ethnic communities deserve a little of the credit for that. I think in relation to the point that when the system has wanted to get ethnic community support for the development of programs in educating for a multicultural society they have asked for support and that support has been given. I think that in some cases that has cemented a relationship with the bureaucracy and I think that is a good thing.

Specifically, what the Education Liaison Team of the AGWS has proved beyond all shadow of doubt is that ethnic communities which have an adequate structure do have a direct policy and service role in the education area, a role that is complementary to the role of schools and to the role of educational bureaucracy. I think the fostering and support given by ethnic communities to speak out about their needs and concerns at the school level are gradually being felt through the local schools and through the education system.

Other things I can point to would be the establishment of networks whereby ethnic communities can ring up someone in the education system in this or other states and express an opinion or a concern. That kind of networking has, I think, greatly increased recently, especially since the input of federal money into this area.

Overall though, in spite of the successes of some of these initiatives, I feel that when one is speaking about the involvement of ethnic communities in the education system one has to look to the future. We are seeing at the moment, I would suggest, the genesis of some involvement, participation, consultation, call it what you will, of ethnic communities in institutional processes. Evidence the establishment of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, the Federal Broadcasting Service, the Multicultural Advisory Co-ordinating Committees in various states, Ethnic Affairs Commissions in South Australia and New South Wales and the proposed Ethnic Affairs Commission in Victoria, to mention but a few. People may argue about the level of involvement, the level of consultation. People may argue about the role of these organisations. There has been, for example, a deal of controversy about the report on education of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs. But the fact is that these institutions that I have described do exist, and ethnic communities are participating in them at various levels. And I think that is a beginning of something.

As well, communities are now becoming far more organised, far more able to define issues for themselves, and far more able to participate in the whole political and educational process. I think it is an extremely important factor that communities are now beginning to see that they are a legitimate part of that process, just as any other interest group is, and to participate in that process in some cases to a large extent and in other cases to a more narrow extent.

The other thing that I would say at this time is that we are beginning to see people who have had links with communal organisations joining the bureaucracy, so that both formal and informal links with the bureaucracy are increasing. These are very slow processes, and one of the difficulties of people who join the bureaucracy is losing 'their roots'. Nevertheless I think it is an important factor. I think that Coombs (1977: 56), in commenting on reports on the Australian Government Administration had some interesting things to say about this particular topic. He noted that:

> The public service gives undue weight to the numbers drawn from and to the values of those members of society who are already privileged and have access to privileged educational institutions.

It is an odd thing that education, which reformers at all times have seen as an instrument for the liberation of man, can serve so successfully as the guardian of privilege. The Commission has therefore proposed changes designed to achieve a balance in the composition of the bureaucracy so that it will more adequately mirror that of the community generally, and in particular to provide greater scope at all levels for groups who are at present disadvantaged — Aborigines, women, immigrants and the physically handicapped.

I suppose it may be easy for people to detract from what I have said today on the basis that my own personal experience and AGWS experience is not representative of ethnic communal organisations in a multicultural society. However, though the type of organisation may be unique and its method of operation different from similar organisations in other states it does, I feel, provide a very useful framework by which others can consider and judge this issue for themselves. Perhaps the greatest Hellene who has contributed to western civilization in this century, Nikos Kazantzakis, has something for us when he tells us, in his collection of personal philosophies, Saviours of God, that:

> Action is the widest gate of deliverance. It alone can answer the questions of the heart. Amid the labyrinth complexities of the mind it finds the shortest route to deliverance by hewing to right and left of the resistances of logic and matter.

Yet I suppose a call to action is not enough unless we are clear as to what our goals are. Another one of my favourite people, Manning Clark (1980), paints a picture of Australians in the nineteenth century as having

> . . . a reputation of being in the vanguard of human progress. Our colonial forefathers were the pioneers in the introduction of bourgeois democracy and we are rather boastful about it.

Further on, when he comments about the twentieth century, Clark goes on to say that we seem to have missed the boat, the boat carrying humanity into the future. Australians are no longer the path finders but rather men of the army in the rear.

I would suggest that it is in building a real multicultural society that we can lead again. There are very few nations that have such a linguistic and cultural mix as does Australia. There are few nations who could boast such great multicultural challenges towards the end of the twentieth century. We could provide real leadership here in building a multicultural society which respects, perhaps applauds, its cultural diversity; which provides diverse services and programs so that all may share equally the benefits of living in Australia; and where the people may have a real say in the decisions that affect them on a day to day basis. This of course is wider than a traditional view of education and it is by no accident that I say that. I think the consequences of what I say are very wide for the whole society. However, unless we have visions like educating for a multicultural society, and unless we have some kind of vision of what the role of ethnic communities within that education is, I would suggest that education for a multicultural society will be an impossible dream. I see our task to make it a realistic attainment.

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Multicultural Education: An Attempted Definition and an Analysis of Possible Curricular Components*

Edward Wolf

1. Usages

In current discussion 'multicultural education' has no commonly accepted or precise meaning. Its two primary usages are:

(a) as referring to a theoretical conviction (or ideology) which promotes specific curriculum models considered as appropriate for the preservation of a society in which exists cultural diversity within the overall national unity. (Vide: CME, 1979: 7-9)

(b) as referring to the specific curriculum elements which are judged as consequences of diverse cultures within society at large. (Vide: Galbally, 1978: 106)

These usages indicate the two complementary reasons given for the introduction of multicultural education: to achieve the normative goal of Australia as a multicultural society, and to reflect the multicultural nature of Australian society.

Both viewpoints mask serious problems. The normative usage is not explicitly linked to any adequate theory of social formation, and thus ignores key questions relating to how social realities are brought into being. The demographic usage offers no criteria to determine which cultural realities it is appropriate and desirable to reflect, and which it is not.

Both viewpoints imply that there is general assent to the desirability of living in a culturally plural society, whether the reason for this be related to the present, or be directed towards the future. Accordingly, whilst instrumental goals may be put forward to individual elements in a multicultural education program — i.e. they relate to the solving of specific educational problems which emerge in a multicultural society — the goal of multicultural education as a total program must be the development of informed judgment about, and personal assent to, the desirability of a multicultural Australia, on the part of the total school population.

Multicultural education refers then to the educational experience of the whole school population of a given State in which children from diverse

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This summary was supplied by the author.

cultural backgrounds come into contact and in which, at an official level, it has been decided that such diversity is desirable and should be preserved. For this reason, 'migrant' education with its emphasis on the linguistic and psychological needs of migrant children in a host country, is unable to be equated with 'multicultural education'.

By establishing this starting point for a model of multicultural education, the problems which arise from a confusion between migrant education and multicultural education can be avoided.

2. Certain Curricular Elements of Particular Significance in a Multicultural Society Discussed in the Light of the Description of Multicultural Education Given Above

2.1 English Language Support Programs

Migrant education is, simply, a curricular response designed specifically for migrant children, insofar as they are an identifiable group of students who come to school with special language needs that native English-speaking students do not have.

E.S.L. programs have as their goal the migrant students' participation in the activities of the school curriculum at a level comparable to that of non-migrant students, without handicap or differentiation because of a lack of knowledge of the national language. The rationale for language programs for these students is identical to that for English language instruction to groups of Aboriginal school children with similar English language needs.

Given the stance that multicultural education appertains to the entire school population, no variant of any English language support program can, in itself theoretically, be considered as multicultural education.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SUPPORT PROGRAMS

Target Student Population	Common Program Appelation	Theoretical Status of Program	Additional Description
1. Migrants	English as a Second Language	Necessary insofar as they are particular instances of programs related to the core learning area of communication	Migrant education
2. Aborigines	Standard English as a Second Dialect		Aboriginal Education
3. Non-migrants: NES background Non-migrants: ES Background	Language Across the Curriculum		

2.2 Non-English Language Programs

The proliferation of labels for such programs — 'foreign', 'ethnic', 'community' languages — obscures their one shared characteristic of being languages other than English. A classification based on this criterion is analytically more useful.

Non-English languages (NELs) may be further subdivided into:

(a) those non-English languages commonly spoken in Australia (NELSAs) — i.e. languages for which a sufficiently large group of speakers exist in Australia, who communicate in these languages in their everyday lives

(b) those non-English languages not commonly spoken in Australia (NELNAs).

NEL programs need to be considered from a curriculum perspective in terms of their aims, target populations and relationship with the rest of the curriculum.

TYPE 1 — *Transitional Bilingual Education Programs*

In this instance, the program is characterised by the use of both English and the NELSA as the mediums of instruction for teaching the curriculum, with the goal of replacement of the NELSA by English — on a phase in/phase out model.

Directed solely towards migrant students, Type 1 programs are part of migrant education. Insofar as these programs address the core learning area of communication in the national language of English, they are necessary for those students. However, since they are directed to a specific group, they cannot be considered as multicultural education.

TYPE 2 — *Language Maintenance Programs*

These are NELSA programs which aim at maintaining (and perhaps developing) the language proficiency of students who already have some mother-tongue familiarity with them. Insofar as these programs are not directed towards the total school population, they cannot be considered as multicultural education.

TYPE 2 (b) — *Language Familiarisation Programs*

These aim to introduce monolingual students to a general appreciation of what is involved in speaking a language other than English. As the target population of these types of programs is limited to those with no familiarity with the respective NELSAs — i.e. not the total student population — they, too, cannot be classified as multicultural education.

COMPOSITE TYPE 2 (a) and 2 (b) — *Language Maintenance, Plus Language Familiarisation*

Such a composite program would attempt to achieve two different goals with two different kinds of student population. It has yet to be demonstrated how one program can address the manifestly different proficiency levels, socio-linguistic support environments, and prior knowledge of students who undertake such programs to maintain their mother tongue, and those of non-migrant students who are to become familiar with the NELSA.

TYPE 3 (a) — *Full Bilingual NELSA Programs*

This type operates throughout the students' entire education with instruction in the curriculum in both English and the NELSA as the mediums of instruction. The goal here is comparable proficiency in both languages.

In the absence of a reversal of state policy, a full bilingual program will necessarily only operate in a non-mainstream selective school, insofar as the minimum resources considered adequate to implement it could never be generally available. Access to such a program, thus, would be severely limited to students attending such a school.

TYPE 3 (b) — *NELSA-Only Programs*

In this type, instruction in the entire curriculum is in the NELSA only. Such programs can be found in what are known as 'ethnic' schools, and in schools for children of foreign nationals, who are in Australia as short-term residents (e.g. the French and Japanese Schools). In both cases, the curriculum followed is not related to Australia, but is based on curricula from other countries. Thus they lie entirely outside the Australian national school system.

TYPE 5 — *'Classical-Languages' Programs*

The central position of Type 5 programs in the traditional, academically-oriented curriculum of certain private schools, reflects their primary aim of inducting students into the grammar-translation discipline of the classical languages of Latin and Ancient Greek. Such programs are in no sense of the term multicultural.

TYPE 6 — *Foreign Language Programs* (i.e. NELs of language groups from other regions/countries)

Over the past decade there has been a great deal of interest in this last type. However, until such time as Australia has a national language policy which categorically affirms the necessity for all children to learn a 'foreign' NELNA language for national geo-political reasons, Type 6 programs remain optional to any curriculum 'core'. This remains true, theoretically, irrespective of any other reason that may be put forward for their inclusion in school curricula.

If such a national language policy were to exist, the implementation of the corresponding Type 6 programs would theoretically require their categorisation as 'core', but not 'multicultural', in terms of the description offered above, unless they were also constitutive elements in a total multicultural program with the explicit goal of promoting informed judgment about, and personal assent to, Australia as a multicultural society.

KEY

NEL: Non-English languages
NELSA: Non-English languages commonly spoken in Australia.
NELNA: Non-English languages not commonly spoken in Australia.
TYPE 1: Transititional bilingual education programs
TYPE 2 (a): Language maintenance programs
TYPE 2 (b): Language familiarisation programs
COMPOSITE TYPE 2 (a) and 2 (b)
TYPE 3 (a): Full bilingual NELSA programs
TYPE 3 (b): Full bilingual NELNA programs
TYPE 4: NELSA-only programs
TYPE 5: Classical-languages programs
TYPE 6: Foreign-language programs

TABLE 1 (a): *NELs*

TARGET STUDENT POPULATION	NELSA PROGRAMS	NELNA PROGRAMS
Migrant Students	Type 1 Type 2 (a) Type 4	
Non-Migrant ES students	Type 2 (b)	Type 5
Total population (micro-level)	Type 3 (a)	Type 3 (b)
Total student population (macro-level)	Composite Types 2 (a) & 2 (b)	Type 6

TABLE 1 (b) *NELs*

CURRICULUM DESIGNATION	NELSA PROGRAMS	NELNA PROGRAMS
Necessary and thus part of 'core'	Type 1 Composites 2 (a) & 2 (b)?	Type 6: If there is a national language policy
Optional	Type 2 (a) Type 2 (b)	Type 5 Type 6: If there is no national language policy
Neither as outside the national education system	Type 3 (a) Type 4	Type 3 (b)

TABLE 2

	NELSA Programs	NELNA Programs without a National Language Policy	NELSA/NELNA Programs with a National Language Policy
Migrant Education	Type 1		
Multicultural Education			Composite 2 (a) & 2 (b)? Type 6
Necessary to a core learning area	Type 1		Composite 2 (a) & 2 (b)? Type 6
Optional Study	Type 2 (a) Type 2 (b)	Type 5 Type 6	
Non Multicultural/ Restricted Access	Type 3 (a) Type 4	Type 3 (b)	

2.3 Non-Language Programs

Formulations of multicultural education contain a variety of non-language programs, with a range of appellations. However, only the Australian Ethnic Affairs Commission (1979) document attempts to present a concise integrated model of multicultural education, with clear details about non-language programs.

These programs identified by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Commission are 'Intercultural Studies', 'Studies in Migration Issues', and 'Studies in Social Communication'.

(a) Intercultural Studies
The aim of these programs is to effect the 'informed judgment', deemed as essential for multicultural education.

(b) Studies in Migration Issues
These studies provide knowledge of the histories and material realities of some of the cultural groups examined in Intercultural Studies.

(c) Studies in Social Communication
Focusing on social communication and human behaviour, this program examines not only human interaction, but the context within which this takes place and the roles of modes of communication. It also extends into value judgments based on knowledge of culture gained in Intercultural Studies, and knowledge of material realities and histories obtained in Studies in Migration Issues.

In addition, the centrality of language as the prime mode of signifying meaning is emphasised. By this means is established the link with accompanying Type 6 NELNA Programs.

3. Ways in which Descriptions of Multicultural Education can be Inserted as Elements in a Total Program of Multicultural Education

(1) Current Model Based on Present Usages of Multicultural Education

A selection from English language elements + A selection from NEL elements + A selection from non-language elements

↓

directed towards

the realisation of the future goal of Australia as a multicultural society — not merely in fact but also in the conscious, positive assent of the population.

(2) **Proposed Curriculum Model of Multicultural Education**

Type 6 NELNA
programs backed by a
national language policy

+

Intercultural Studies
Studies in Migration
Issues

Studies in Social
Communication

as part of the core curriculum for all school students in Australian schools, with the explicit goal of promoting informed judgment about, and personal assent to, the realisation of Australia as a multicultural society.

In this model, the separate identification of the curricular elements of Migrant Education can be made thus:

E.S.L.
Programs

+

TYPE 1 NELSA
Programs

as programs which address, for a transitional period, the language needs of migrant students, in the core learning area of communication.

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Politics of Multiculturalism Versus Multicultural Butterfly Collecting in Australian Education*

Brian M. Bullivant

Pluralism is a very complex, elusive concept. In Australia, multiculturalism has developed as the most favoured pluralist ideology. From much of the official literature in pluralist countries overseas and in Australia, multiculturalism can be interpreted as little more than a slogan. Confused ideas, oversimplification, and indeed naivety bedevil the whole discussion about pluralism in Australia. There is a need to arrive at consensus about what multiculturalism is so that teachers and educationists can get on with the job of forming policies and implementing them in the classroom.

From a sociological viewpoint there appear to have developed two approaches to analysing multiculturalism and multicultural education in Australia. The first, exemplified by George Smolicz's work, proceeds by constructing typologies of multiculturalism and other kinds of pluralism, an approach which can be criticised for being tantamount to 'typological butterfly collecting' (Leach, 1961). The other, exemplified by this writer's analyses, proceeds by examining what might be termed 'the politics of multiculturalism'.

Much of the recent theoretical literature on Australian multiculturalism envisages an idealistic kind of society, but does not question the basic assumptions on which multiculturalism rests. The opposing view, 'the politics of multiculturalism', points out that the assumption that schooling can reconstruct society and remove the causes of inter-ethnic conflict and socio-economic advantage is simply naive. Racial intolerance, class differences, and ethnic labelling are known causes of socio-economic discrimination that cannot be alleviated by multiculturalism because they have roots in basic structural inequalities that are reproduced by the education system. Here we are in agreement with the Schools Commission (1981: 112) which has drawn attention to the fact that socio-economic justice 'will not be achieved without poliical action and struggle'.

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The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1977) may have started the trend in devising typologies of multiculturalism. More recently Lewins (1980) and Smolicz (1981) have indulged in the same approach. There is some merit in constructing a typology provided it is kept firmly in mind that it is only a technical device for comparing various components in society and endeavouring to make theoretical explanations from them. 'Ideal types' can be a useful research tool, but they can also lead to thinking that something constructed purely for theoretical explanation can be seen or found in real life. They can also blinker people's minds and block off thinking about alternative explanations.

One central issue may underlie both the incessant conceptual elaboration of social theorists who indulge in constructing 'ideal types' of multiculturalism, and the lack of real, practical developments by educationists at the level of curriculum. It can be summed up by the term *pluralist dilemma* (Bullivant, 1981), and has been known in principle since the days of Plato. In political theory it is the dilemma of reconciling the heterogeneous demands and needs of the minority groups in a society with its paramount need to provide for the collective good of a homogeneous social and political system.

The ideology of multiculturalism is a socio-cultural *theory* of society. Multicultural education is the extension of the ideology into educational practice. One major criticism of the ideology as it is used in Australia today (e.g., Birrell, 1978; Bullivant, 1979, 1981) is that it presents a false picture of the reality of society as a result of the failure to take into account the effect of socio-economic classes. Nor are the variety of ways in which people identify themselves, or are identified by others, all encompassed by the term 'multicultural', unless one does violence to the concept by stretching it to include features that are strictly non-cultural in the modern sense of culture.

Another criticism concerns confusion in terminology. For example, it is not uncommon for arguments to be based on the association of ethnicity with culture. The composition of our society in Australia can be shown to involve *ethnic*, and not solely cultural, dimensions. To equate ethnicity with culture is wrong theoretically, and less than helpful when it comes to making policy decisions about ethnic groups and their children. The much-cited seminal work of Barth (1969) stressed the dual nature of ethnicity. This has developed into a cornerstone of ethnicity theory and a strong counter against those who make the simplistic equation ethnic group = cultural group. The two aspects of self-identification by members of an ethnic group (self-ascribed ethnicity) and the social labelling of members of ethnic groups by outsiders (socially ascribed ethnicity) must both be kept in mind.

> Ethnic groups are defined BOTH by the objective cultural modalities of their behavior (including most importantly their linguistic behavior), and by their subjective views of themselves and each other. (van den Berghe, 1975: 72)

The relationship between ethnic groups, or more accurately *ethnic categories* (Smith, 1982: 2-6), sharing the same geographical territory, should be clearly understood if the naivety of such a model as 'multicultural Australia' is to be seen for what it is. Banton (1981) distinguishes between minority ethnicity and majority ethnicity. Extending Connor's ideas (1973) we can refer to the majority ethnic group as the Staatsvolk, i.e. 'the people of the state', a term that is not inappropriate despite connotations that some may find disturbing. Enloe (1981: 123-4) has pointed out that analytically relationships have a vertical component and a horizontal component, depending on whether one is referring to the state or the nation.

> The *state* is a vertical structure of public authority. It contrasts with the *nation*, which is essentially a horizontal network of trust and identity. The state's most visible expressions are those institutions which exert vertical authority; the civic bureaucracy, the judicial system and the military and police.

Ethnics' interactions with vertical systems and structures entail them belonging to statuses and social categories that have very little to do with ethnicity. The state (the vertical domain) should be an integrated and homogeneous system. At the horizontal level (the nation) there is room for some diversity of sentiments and values — in other words, poly-ethnic diversity can prevail, especially in the private domain of family, neighbourhood, local association and community.

Grassby's 'family-of-the-nation' metaphor can now be seen in perspective as part of the horizontal component. Smolicz's conceptualisation of stable multiculturalism similarly seems to refer more to the horizontal component than the vertical in drawing attention to keeping the balance between 'the values shared by all members of society, on the one hand, and the specific cores of various ethnic groups, on the other' (Smolicz, 1981: 142).

Likewise the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1977), in defining equality as 'equal access to social resources', confuses the domains of nation and state. Achieving equality is much more a question of influencing the Staatsvolk's control over social and economic resources through the inter-related political and economic systems. Failure to realise this is a major reason for the repeated assertions that multiculturalism will achieve equality.

A similar confusion of components is at the bottom of misplaced claims that teaching about minority ethnic cultures and enhancing ethnics' sense of identity (horizontal component relevance) will enhance their economic opportunity and life chances (vertical component relevance). Those who make it commonly confuse life styles, which are essentially private domain concerns, with life chances which involve the public, economic and political domain. Life chances are determined more by structural inequalities in the socio-economic and political systems of society. They are influenced by factors which are non-cultural and lie outside the school. They are not likely to be countered by programs of multicultural education.

Multicultural education rests on the assumption that the processes of education in a modern society have the potential through schooling and the curriculum to contribute significantly to changes in the wider society.

This cultural reconstructionist philosophy is now a discredited notion. Evidence supports the contrary view, that of cultural reproduction, which asserts that schooling plays a major part in ensuring that inequality is reproduced from generation to generation. The policy of multiculturalism and its implementation in educational programs can, of the very nature of the problem of deprivation, do little to improve educational opportunity for ethnic minority children.

The term multicultural as descriptive and prescriptive has a number of shortcomings and should be abandoned. A term is needed to conceptualise the composition of Australia in as comprehensive a way as possible. One term that goes a long way towards being able to accommodate pluralist diacritica is *polyethnic,* which derives its usefulness from the concept of *ethnic group.*

A comparable type of pluralism to that envisaged in Australia has been called *pluralistic integration* by the American theorist, John Higham (1975: 242-43).

> In contrast to the integrationist model, it will not eliminate ethnic boundaries. But neither will it maintain them intact. It will uphold the validity of a common culture, to which all individuals have access, while sustaining the efforts of minorities to preserve and enhance their own integrity. In principle this dual commitment can be met by distinguishing between boundaries and nucleus. No ethnic group under these terms may have the support of the general community in strengthening its boundaries. All boundaries are understood to be permeable. Ethnic nuclei, on the other hand, are respected as enduring centers of social action.

Following this line of thinking we can conceptualise Australia descriptively as having an *integrated polyethnic form of pluralism.* The public domain and vertical state component are necessarily integrated to maintain the 'civism' required for a viable society to prosper politically and economically. The private domain and horizontal nation component is polyethnic, allowing for considerable ethno-cultural diversity of life-styles, sentiments and values. Prescriptively, nothing more should be aimed at if inter-ethnic harmony and political and economic stability are to be achieved.

In the educational context, this contrasts with the position taken by Smolicz, whose suggestions not only have an underlying idealism and thoroughly 'advocatory' character, but place a considerable onus on the Anglo-Celtic-dominated educational system. Smolicz (1981: 142) states that:

> To achieve stable multiculturalism in an ethnically plural society, the education system at every level must give all individuals the chance:
>
> 1. to learn the shared values of society, including the English language;
> 2. to study their mother tongue in its cultural and literary context;

3. to gain access to ethnic community languages and cultures other than their own; and
4. to understand and value the multicultural nature of society and learn to appreciate the various cultures within it.

We would argue that an alternative way of providing learning in ethnic literacy would be through institutions such as supplementary schools set up by ethnic communities themselves to fill the vacuum produced by state school deficiencies. This appears to be occurring anyway and is being given considerable federal support, but is feared by Smolicz (1981: 142) as a form of ethnic separatism. Thus he advocates:

> School multiculturalism is required to avoid structural separatism and division in society.

He appears to subscribe to the view that ethnic groups can maintain ethnic culture without their own structural or community support.

On this issue Jean Martin warns (1978: 216):

> The proposition that we are, or are in the process of becoming, a culturally pluralist society has a specifically ideological aspect . . . the thesis of cultural pluralism rests on the unspoken assumptions that ethnic culture can be sustained without ethnic communities and that a culturally diverse society is something different from a structurally pluralist one, assumptions that defy the weight of historical experience.

Canadian experience casts doubts on whether 'members of other groups' would *want* to have access to the culture of another ethnic group in anything other than a superficial way. Canadian experience also suggests that official encouragement given to retention of and access to ethnic languages for everybody can easily promote inter-ethnic rivalry. In Canada, the Anglo-Celtic majority is largely indifferent, and in places even hostile, to learning French, which is seen as having no important instrumental value. What hope is there that Australian Anglophones will see value in learning an ethnic language?

Meanwhile by an ideological sleight of hand Australia proceeds along the multicultural rainbow to what its proponents fondly imagine is the pluralist millenium. It could be, but only at the horizontal level of cultural diversity. Whether this will satisfy ethnic aspirations and not lead to *structural and institutional* separatism remains to be seen. This would set up a situation in which ethnic communities strengthen their boundaries. John Higham's model of integrated pluralism referred to above warns that the general community could not support such a development.

Whether this does not apply to Australia remains to be seen. Most certainly Australian experience is no different from that of other Western, pluralist countries, and to judge from them the prognosis must remain pessimistic.

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PART V: The Second Institute, Melbourne, November 1982

Introduction

The original plan had envisaged that the Second Alf Sampson Leadership Institute should include topics related to intercultural education. The majority of participants at the May meeting felt that it would be more productive to build on the progress already made and confine discussion to analysing in depth issues already raised. The theme of the Second Institute, held in Melbourne some six months after the First Institute in Ballarat was, therefore, again multicultural education. The mode of the second meeting, however, differed from that conducted in May.

Forty people attended the Second Institute in November. This was organised in the form of a weekend workshop, without key papers, in order to give maximum opportunity for individuals to clarify and formulate their views. Discussion was confined to five areas of multicultural education: teacher education, curriculum, prejudice, ethnic schools, and language policy. It had been hoped to include a sixth area, Aboriginal education, which had received considerable attention at the First Institute. Consideration of this topic was felt to be appropriate only if the discussion were led by a member of the Aboriginal community. The issue of Aboriginal education was omitted from the agenda because no member of that community was available to attend the Second Institute.

Racism had not been included as a topic in the initial plan. Comprehension of the barriers within our ethnically diverse society is central to discussions which seek to consider educational decisions within a framework which takes into account non-educational factors which influence policy and practice. It is a significant factor in any discussion of curriculum strategies. A short paper outlining the structure of ethnic and racial prejudice in Australia and including some examples of strategies for combating prejudice and stereotyping, suitable for use in primary schools, is reproduced.

Reports of talks which occupied in all more than seven hours, cannot hope to reflect the breadth and depth of the discussions which took place. The reports which appear in this volume may give too great an impression of consensus, but because participants chose to discuss topics which particularly interested them, and about which they had some practical experience or knowledge, there was more agreement within groups than in the workshops at the First Institute. The written comments of participants on the reports of groups other than their own showed clearly that there was agreement on the general principles of multicultural education, but there were diverse suggestions about the strategies and techniques which could effectively translate the broad generalisations into workable programs.

The groups were uneven in size (as a result of participant rather than organiser choice); they approached their topics in different ways as guidelines were supplied by the respective group leaders. The final reports which appear in this section are therefore not uniform in style of presentation. The name which appears on each report is that of the group leader. The opinions expressed are those of the group, and on some specific points would not coincide with the positions held by the individual who happened to be group leader, and whose name appears on the report. She or he was the 'author' or 'editor' in the sense that leaders were responsible for writing the reports. Each group elected one person to take notes as the discussion proceeded, and it is on the basis of these notes that the final draft document was produced. In most cases this draft report was circulated to all members of the group, each of whom added individual comments for inclusion. The reports that appear in this publication are the original drafts, modified by other members of the workshop group.

The discussion on ethnic schools did not conform to this pattern. They wrote their final report as a group effort, and it dealt only with issues on which there was consensus among group members. They did not report on the relative merits of the directions that were envisaged for ethnic schools suggested in discussions at the First Institute. The editors have provided an account of workshop discussions and individual written comments at the First Institute. The questions raised were not pursued in detail or challenged and amended in the course of discussion.

Members of the Second Institute were presented with an outline of the work undertaken by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, particularly that associated with the *Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services* which was completed in May, 1982. Dr. Barbara Falk again acted as Co-ordinator, and in her introductory address raised some key questions which, it was hoped, would direct the thinking of members of discussion groups.

Barbara Falk asked participants to consider, in their analyses of specific issues, the implications of changes that had occurred, outside the field of education, in the six months that had elapsed between the two meetings. The deepening recession and accelerating technological changes had affected the types of work required and led to widespread unemployment, especially in unskilled jobs held by a high proportion of migrants. The question was posed that, because of the increasing competition for jobs, there may be a hardening rather than a mellowing of barriers, not only between majority and minority groups, but also within particular ethnic groups, between newcomers and more established members who wish to retain their hard-won security. It was hypothesised that there may be a return to a 'ghetto mentality' as ethnic support systems help their own members to find jobs in an increasingly shrinking market. There was evidence that racism is now becoming more blatant. Group members were asked to structure their discussions in the light of these developments. It was also emphasised that, although the role of each group was to concentrate on one specific aspect, that issue should not be thought of in isolation from other aspects, but within the total context of multicultural education.

Schools and tertiary institutions do not create social policy, and indeed the role of educational institutions to combat community prejudices is a limited one. The 'unseen' or 'hidden' curriculum of schools arise, in part, from attitudes and informal learning beyond the control of educational policies and practices. Because of their institutional structure educational systems are slow to react to change. It is particularly necessary, therefore, that the implications of technological change and economic recession are identified as early and as accurately as possible, so that educational practices will meet the needs of changing economic and social situations. In the present economic climate multicultural education will face a scarcity of resources along with all areas of education. Programs may have to be reconsidered and priorities redefined.

Teachers and Teacher Education

Don Cave

Preamble

Rather than attempt to define multicultural education, the group chose to identify key issues in and prominent features of the contemporary education scene in Australia. The delineation of these elements provides a context in which it would seem valid to describe the schooling/education taking place there as multicultural, i.e. specific aspects of the school experience are consequences of the ethnic diversity evident in Australian society. It would seem also that the aspects of the education scene described in this way have specific consequences in the field of teacher education.

The Context

1. Australian society manifests considerable ethnic diversity. While this has been a feature of Australian life from its foundation, it has been accentuated since 1947. Immigration policy since that date is the result of decisions made by Australian politicians in the interest of the country and for humanitarian reasons.

2. Immigration, based on calculations regarding Australia's needs (economic, defence etc.) is supported by all political parties of consequence in Australia.

3 Significant and articulate ethnic groups wish actively to preserve their cultures and languages. While the aim of ethnic diversity within an accepted basic framework was pursued enthusiastically in the 70s there is currently an observable diminution of support for this aim within the community, and in some cases a questioning of its value.

4. Considerable numbers in the community accept the claim that cultural diversity — where such diversity is reconcilable with basic values of the dominant culture — is a good thing. There is, however, a simplistic conception regarding the homogeneity of Australian culture and a failure to realise the changes continually taking place in the values etc. espoused by members of the dominant culture.

5. The ethnic composition of Australian society is constantly changing as new and numerically significant groups arrive. There are significant tensions within and between ethnic groups just as there are within the community as a whole. Attempts to provide for the educational needs of ethnic groups frequently do not reflect the specific needs of the latest arrivals, e.g. the Vietnamese.

6. Immigrant groups as a rule do not reflect the whole spectrum of the class structure of the home country and as such do not manifest the internal dynamisms and diversity evident in the country of origin. In attempting to preserve ethnic cultures in the host country there is a danger of the fossilisation of an atypical sample of the original culture. A class analysis of immigration needs to parallel an analysis based on ethnicity and this is lacking in many interpretations of the needs of children from ethnic groups.

7. Much of the discussion regarding the education of the children from ethnic groups fails to take into account:

(a) the limited role of the school in the overall 'education' of children. However, schools must adapt to reflect the society in which they operate and to make their role relevant to that society;

(b) the considerable research available regarding the specific educational problems of lower socio/economic children. In this, ethnic children have problems in common with their Australian peers, though their problems are frequently compounded by a language problem;

(c) the attempts to assist immigrant children and policies relating to minority groups in other multicultural societies e.g. Israel and Malaysia, including assisting teachers to develop an appropriate approach;

(d) the monolingual professional structure in Australia i.e. entry to the professions is via English language competence. Many ethnic programs are not sufficiently integrated with this 'fact of life'. *All* teachers should accept their responsibility as teachers of English, irrespective of their subject specialty.

8. By focusing attention on the preservation of *ethnicity,* educational planners and curriculum designers have tended to give too little attention to the research and experience available regarding the problems associated with attitude change, prejudice, stereotyping, linguistic problems of specific groups and peer group pressures. As a consequence, an adequate theoretical justification has not been provided for many proposals.

9. The education of the children of ethnic groups has in the last decade become highly bureaucratised.

10. Schools are reflecting more and more the technological, industrial and secular pressures evident in contemporary society throughout the world and the reassessment of male/female roles.

11. The current economic climate, an increase in racism and the inability of many children to cope with the current school experience has led to disillusion regarding the value of schooling and a consequent reliance on migrant networks. There is a danger of a return to the ghetto mentality.

12. It should be stressed that multicultural education applies to *all* children, not just to those of non-English speaking migrant origin. For this reason it should be an essential part of all teacher education courses.

Teacher Education

The following suggestions are seen as logically related to the educational context described above.

Initial Teacher Training

General Principles

1. What is to be attempted must be realistic, i.e. reconcilable with the already heavy demands made on students attempting to acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes judged as the minimum requirements for teachers entering the profession.

2. Given an already crowded program, what can be effected will for the most part be a *sensitivity* to the need for multicultural education, and an *awareness* of resources available for deepening one's professional preparation and for assistance in special areas.

3. The sensitivity and awareness aimed at are more effectively achieved by personal contact and experience where these are obtainable, rather than by didactic means. The ethnic composition of many groups of teachers in training provides potential source material for the effecting of many of the aims espoused. In the case of relatively homogeneous groups, however, didactic means may be the only way to create initial awareness.

4. Much of what it is hoped to attain can be effected not by the addition of new courses, but by the adaptation of existing ones, or insertion into existing courses of information regarding the ethnic communities (e.g. a course in adolescent psychology could include some information regarding specific problems of adolescents in a bi-cultural context, or a critical examination of resource material could lead to the recognition of cultural bias in text books).

With this in mind it is judged that initial teacher education should aim to provide among other things:

Skills

(i) in interviewing parents;
(ii) in the use of interpreters; and
(iii) in the use of simulation situations.

Attitudes

(i) An awareness of the existence of cultural diversity and of the right of individuals to retain their cultural heritage within the common framework.

(ii) A sensitivity to ethnic attitudes towards features of the educational context, e.g.

  (a) the role of teachers and parental expectations;
  (b) the attitude to male and female roles;
  (c) the expectations parents have of ethnic and ordinary schools.

Knowledge

1. An awareness of the general outlines of the history of migration to Australia and the programs developed in response to this. (Relates to paragraphs 1 and 2 in 'Context')

2. Some awareness of the complex nature of culture and of cultural diversity, e.g. a cross-cultured study of a theme such as the role of women.

3. Information regarding services existing for the resolution of major problems, e.g. counselling service.

4. Research findings and theories relating to attitude formation and change, stereotyping and prejudice. (Relates to paragraph 8 in 'Context')

5. Different ways of viewing society, e.g. class, ethnicity, culture. (Relates to paragraph 6 in 'Context')

6. Theories of language acquisition.

In-Service Training

(a) Short Term In-Service

General Principles

1. A series of evening courses seemed on experience of members to be more useful than day courses involving the disruption and expense of time release from schools.

2. In planning such courses a much tighter liaison should exist at the planning stage with schools and migrant parents and communities.

Teacher-perceived, parent-perceived and student-perceived needs should provide guidance for planning many such courses.

3. Such courses should be where possible school-based and should use a multi-disciplinary and multi-media approach.

4. Evaluation techniques should be evolved for judging short and long term effects of the courses, and should be insisted on in all projects proposed.

5. The various elements in the short term in-service courses should form part of an overall *integrated* plan of teacher education.

6. Planners of in-service courses should be aware of planning and experience in in-service training undertaken by agencies other than Education Departments, e.g. the work of the Victorian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, courses undertaken under Galbally Recommendation 14.

7. Courses should not aim to produce specialists, but attempt to increase knowledge of specific interest areas.

Areas in Which Short Term In-Service Should be Provided

1. Skills involved in attempting to gain parental and community involvement and co-operation.
2. Curriculum and organisational initiatives already explored in various places.
3. Comparative studies of education systems in other countries.
4. History of Migrant Education in Australia from the time of foundation.
5. Particular language needs of specific ethnic groups.
6. Provision of possibilities for greater contact with ethnic communities, schools etc.
7. Value conflicts within the area of cultural diversity.

(b) Long Term In-Service

General Principles

Such courses aim to produce resource persons with specialist knowledge and high level competence in the school community. Such specialist courses should not be seen as substitutes for research degrees in similar areas. The group did not feel it was within their brief to decide the exact nature of such courses, diplomas, specialist certificates etc.

Specialist Courses would seem to be required in:

1. Comparative Education:
    (a) School systems.

(b) Approaches to multicultural education in other places, e.g. Israel and Malaysia.

2. Curriculum Studies — principles and practice in multicultural societies.

3. Multi-disciplinary approach to problems of community relations. Such a course would deal with problems of racism, prejudice, etc.

4. Multi-disciplinary study of interpretations of Australian society. It was felt that, beside the ethnic diversity analysis, other analyses (e.g. those based on class or religious differences) are valid, and are needed to augment studies based on ethnicity.

5. Approaches to bilingualism, community language learning, language acquisition, etc.

6. A study of the conceptualising skills of children of various ages, such that one could be able to judge if curricula designed for multicultural education in schools correspond to the conceptualising skills of children of the age with whom they are to be employed.

7. It was felt that a potentially valuable source for language teaching exists in the community amongst citizens highly competent in ethnic languages, but who lack the formal training required at present for language teaching e.g. an Italian speaking engineer or a Greek speaking lawyer. It was felt that a diploma course licensing such people to teach *language* would assist the community language program.

8. Skills involved in the evaluation of the results of curriculum innovations.

Strategies for the Development of a Multicultural Curriculum

Lorna Hannan

1. **Introduction**
2. **The Multicultural Nature of Australian Society**
3. **What is Needed to Develop and Change a Curriculum**
4. **Strategies**

1. Introduction

While it is more generally acceptable now than it has been in the past to state that Australia is a multicultural society, it is not a simple matter to decide how that idea is to be translated into curriculum terms and brought into the classroom. Until that is achieved we do not have a multicultural curriculum and we do not even know how it can be arrived at.

The following is a summary of the workshop of several subgroups on some of the key issues which they defined. Their discussions were aimed at driving ideas and theory in the direction of practice, at the same time as measuring the intended practice against the very ideas it is meant to embody. Although it may sound like a truism, there is no escaping a truth just because it is obvious: teachers are constantly caught at the point where theory and practice meet. Without the twin elements of theory and practice to work with, we can get caught with either unreal and unhelpful aims or with trite and superficial answers. Therefore the group aimed for a rigorous working method which it hoped would have the potential for later development in real teaching situations and not just in theory.

The discussion looked firstly at the salient features of the society, then turned to a discussion of curriculum planning and finally attempted to establish some strategies for teachers, schools and systems.

2. The Multicultural Nature of Australian Society

If a school curriculum is to reflect and add to the multicultural nature of Australian society, then it is necessary to establish what are the salient features of the society from which a curriculum can be developed. Discussion suggested seven features, each of which is also tentatively related to the planning or practice of programs in schools.

2.1 Australian society has not been a collection of groups with equal or equivalent status, each of them able to continue and grow in their own culture as well as sharing a national culture. That may be the sort of society we are aiming for but it is not the society we have had.

Curriculum planners need to be aware of the need for their work to be in part corrective, and to lead to an understanding of the concepts of dominance and oppression.

2.2 The indigenous culture of the Aboriginal peoples which came close to being destroyed as a result of white settlement has a continuing life in Australian society. Recent responsible historians and commentators now see that previous interpretations of the history of the Aboriginal peoples since 1789 have been distorted. For example, the Aborigines were not passive acceptors of their fate when new ways were brought to the country but continued active resistance with some limited success, and in more recent times have been quite assertive about their own rights. It is far too simple to regard their assertiveness as a recent development because to some extent it has always been present, and it is the dominant society which has a particular interest in interpreting their role as a passive one.

The curriculum needs to have built into it the right of Aboriginal peoples to speak for themselves and to make all sections of the society aware of their historical and present situation.

2.3 In the settler society of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there are stratifications which reflect cultural difference, because cultural difference is in turn related to economic security, social prestige and political power. We may now want to say, and many people in the past would have wanted also to state, that cultures are worthy of equal respect, but that view has not been held in Australia where the 'White Australia Policy' and sectarian issues have been strong strains at both official and informal levels in the life of the people.

The content and teaching methods of the curricula need to deal with the complications of the society as it is and not with idealised statements which neither encourage nor assist explanations of its real power structures.

2.4 Some of the cultural practices of minority groups are genuinely in need of reform. For example, there are forms of family organisation which disadvantage the women of particular ethnic groups; there are expressions of family authority which do not allow young people the freedom to develop adequate lives of their own; there are strongly ingrained expressions of racism against other groups built into unquestioned group traditions. Multiculturalism does not however involve accepting the injustices and faults of other cultures as inevitable or tolerable but will involve working to change them.

Teachers have to find ways of communicating the fact of unacceptable cultural practice at every level of schooling. Very young children are capable of absorbing complex social ideas and should be neither confused nor sold short by the curriculum which is helping to shape their ideas about their own society.

2.5 Multiculturalism involves change and reassessment in all the groups which are part of the total society — a point which it may be difficult for the dominant group to be aware of. For members of the group which has been dominant, its own beliefs and practices seem to be the norm against which others are measured. It is possible to see the racism or sexism of another group and to be still unaware of these same strains in the dominant group when the dominant group is the one to which you belong.

When examining the faults of the dominant groups in the society teachers *need to be particularly skilful — especially in local communities which either are, or see themselves to be, culturally homogeneous and separated from the diversity which migrant minority groups bring. Lack of experience of diversity makes it difficult for young people to be objective about the only value system they know, but this is part of the lesson to be learnt.*

2.6 Multiculturalism is sometimes interpreted as being the sum of the cultures of the minority groups. This view is an unhelpful distortion because it fails to place the national culture in context. If there is no central national culture, there is no useful sense in which individuals or minority groups can see themselves as bicultural and no constructive way in which the whole society can organise itself as a multicultural one. The dominant group is in danger of seeing itself to be either without a culture of its own, or as having a culture which other groups deliberately ignore or devalue.

On behalf of the society, teachers need a conscious awareness and evaluation of the Australian culture which has grown out of its history, its way of life and folk lore, as well as the literature, performing and visual arts which express it. This consideration decides in part what the content of the curriculum must be, and to be effective, must be put into effect at every level of schooling from Kindergarten to Year 12.

2.7 The cultures of Australian society have complicated symbiotic relationships with the community languages. If Australian society is going to value the cultures of its people, then it must also value their languages. Although the idea that community languages should be taught in schools is strongly advanced, it is also strongly resisted. It is resisted by some spokespeople who claim that English only should be taught in the schools of a country which accepts English as its national language, and it is resisted by others who argue that widespread teaching is not practicable. The debate is still going on but does not seem to be well founded. The right of peoples to their language should be beyond challenge.

Community languages have a right and proper place in the curriculum of schools and are the only foundation for a continued multicultural society. Once the language dies, the culture which has been part of it can either be said to have died or to have undergone such a change that it is no longer recognisable as the same culture. Therefore community language teaching is the foundation of multiculturalism in the school setting.

This view may continue to be unwelcome to many Australians for a long time, but grows out of their resistance to a multicultural society and as such cannot be allowed to determine what is good for the whole of the society.

3. What is Needed to Develop and Change a Curriculum

The curriculum is a multi-dimensional feature of schooling which is influenced and changed in complicated ways. Various aspects are simultaneously important and their inter-action is part of curriculum strategy.

The following aspects were identified and examined:

3.1 Values which the curriculum intends to impart.
3.2 School courses which will be used to teach values.
3.3 Content of courses selected to impart values.
3.4 Development of appropriate teaching methods.
3.5 Development of appropriate means for taking curriculum decisions.

3.1 Values Which the Curriculum Intends to Impart

There was detailed discussion of the sorts of issues involved, examples only of which are described below.

3.1.1 The complex idea of Australia as a multicultural society means that the whole curriculum must respond to the need to build in corrective biases against *racism*. Therefore traditional interpretations of history will be called into question. 'Captain Cook discovered Australia' is a mistaken view of events which in turn grew out of a skewed view of who and what has been important. Coming to see why such a statement is unacceptable is a means by which multicultural values can be taught. The learning process is in itself potentially more important than the fact or series of facts to be learned.

3.1.2 Because languages are an integral part of cultures, the ways in which schools value community languages becomes a means by which values are taught. Thus a school where children are not allowed to speak their home language in the school yard opposes the use of the language; a school program which allows children to read for themselves in a language other than English — if they are able to do so — is showing tolerance for the language; and a school which has introduced a bilingual program where children study the content of their schooling in a language other than English is showing vastly more respect for the place of that language in the social, emotional and intellectual lives of its students.

3.1.3 All aspects of the curriculum need to be examined alongside the values which are meant to be taught, and strengthened or changed so that the proper ends are achieved.

3.2 School Courses Through Which Values Will be Taught

3.2.1 Some curriculum planners have argued prescriptively that multiculturalism should be a perspective to be taken into account in many parts of the school program and have ruled it is a distortion to introduce special subjects called 'Multicultural Studies'. The dichotomy is unimportant. Either means can be used to introduce new and important content. The name of a course is rarely informative about the values it will impart or about the content which will make it up, and can vary from school to school according to how the needs of the students are best met.

3.2.2 It is informative to see how existing school courses have been expanded by the introduction of multicultural values:

- The study of Greek, Italian and Turkish writers in translation in the literature segments of English courses.

- The re-evaluation of social studies which had treated only a limited range of family groupings to introduce other systems present, both within and beyond Australian society.
- The introduction of migration as a part of local studies thus recognising how a local community comes to either resemble or differ from the community at large.
- The provision of soccer and bowls as school sports.
- The deliberate placing of mathematical problems in a range of cultural settings and situations.

3.2.3 The introduction of school courses, particularly in community languages and bilingual schooling underlines an important shift of school values and in itself, teaches students that changed attitudes establish new priorities in school programs.

3.3 Content of Courses Selected to Impart Agreed Values

3.3.1 Since the basis of Australia's multiculturalism lies in the make-up of the society, it is important that all children at school should examine the nature of our present society. This can be done by taking such information as the birthplace of the present population and seeing what the countries of origin of the present population are. The process of selection of material to be used makes it clear that values matter. For example, information about the present population could be presented in such a way that the very diversity which is one of its most important features was presented as a fault. Teaching decisions must involve deciding that students need to know about diversity, not as an abstraction but as a real and quantifiable fact, and then having also examined the problems it brings, the teacher must next plan activities and means by which students will recognise that it is a valuable attribute of the society.

3.3.2 To secure the relevance of demographic information for pupils, a class may compare its own make-up with that of the school, the district, the state and the nation. The differences then become points of departure. Why is the class itself atypical of the nation? What forces decided that the district would be either like or unlike the state? Has the district long had its present ethnic character? Part of the content consists in having students speculate for themselves about the nature of the groups they know and not in presenting them with established facts and interpretations.

3.3.3 There is great variation possible in the ways in which a content is established in curricula. Demographic information in a thematically developed curriculum becomes the starting point for pieces of related personal writing, drawings of exotic or atypical buildings, interviews with community celebrities and so on. In an experience based curriculum, the same content will suggest appropriate activities and excursions as well as reading to enrich the ideas which are within easy grasp. An integrated curriculum will organise similar information across subject boundaries. No one method of organisation seems necessarily to be better than another but rather to be a convenience suited to the school's organisation.

3.3.4 The selection of novel content is a great strain on the classroom teacher. It is appropriate that the needs of teachers be responded to quickly by administrators and central resource providing groups. Teachers who can see the need to expand the content of their present courses have a great deal of their planning time and energy taken up with evaluating means by which to explore new ideas in the classroom. They also have to spend time planning how to sequence new ideas, activities and discussions. It is such an overload on classroom teachers to expect them to research novel information that lack of support in this area can put them in a position where it is not possible to change the basis or content of their teaching.

3.4 Development of Appropriate Teaching Methods

3.4.1 A teaching method which is appropriate to a multicultural curriculum will usually be a teaching method which is appropriate to other areas of the curriculum, and not one which has special unique features.

3.4.2 However it is also clear that some teaching methods are particularly inappropriate to a multicultural curriculum. Students need to be able to work productively with ideas which represent re-assessment of attitudes they and the society have taken for granted in the past. Passive learning is quite inappropriate.

3.4.3 A great deal of the content of the study is concerned with conflicts which are not resolved in the society. Racial and sectarian conflict are particularly difficult to handle in the classroom. Teachers therefore need to develop means of dealing with conflict. Some of these are already tested, such as role reversal exercises which give people the opportunity to take both sides of a situation in turn and examine both rather than only one side of a contentious issue; plus due attention being given to not putting students who are already in conflict with each other into additional conflict situations in the classroom. However, more needs to be known by teachers about how to handle such difficulties.

3.4.4 Because the issues which are raised in the multicultural classroom affect the home, part of the development of an appropriate teaching method is to involve the parents and members of the wider community in planning the classroom study and organised experiences of the students.

3.4.5 Practising teachers need the support of in-service courses so that they have maximum opportunity to examine questions related to difficult teaching situations with the maximum of professional support. There should be top priority given to in-service courses for teachers using multicultural material.

3.4.6 Pre-service courses are quite inadequate in this area of the curriculum and fail to prepare young teachers for their work. Given the social importance of multicultural curriculum development, it would seem necessary to introduce compulsory segments into the training courses of all trainee teachers, irrespective of the level at which they intend to work or the discipline in which they have specialised.

3.4.7 The failure of senior administrators to support the work of teachers in this area is instructive. The principle source of innovation comes from classroom teachers whose daily experience of the cultural diversity of their students confirms their view that the content of their lessons and their teaching methods need to respond more sensitively to student needs. Administrators who have the power to direct resources towards solutions for classroom problems do not have direct experience of it themselves and are often indifferent or even hostile to the demands for greater support.

3.5 Development of Appropriate Means for Taking Curriculum Decisions

3.5.1 To some extent a curriculum always seems to have been handed down, decided in some far off time which makes it difficult to change. However, massive re-organisations do take place and are usually backed by resources from government. Multicultural programs to date have depended on small special funding from the Federal Government and some re-allocation of existing resources from inside schools. The actions of individual schools are always important. However the effect of small scale funding of the sort that has come from the Federal government may have served to limit the number of curriculum changes rather than hasten them. Overall change should be accompanied by priority funding and the adoption of policies which are obligatory on all schools because this area of the curriculum is of national significance.

3.5.2 Since all schools and school communities do not feel the impact of cultural diversity, it is probably necessary to oblige all schools to incorporate teaching about our society's diverse cultural identity. Otherwise all schools will not in fact have prepared their students to take their place in the nation as a whole but will have allowed them to remain in social and intellectual isolation. The preparation of curriculum guidelines and suggestions for all levels from Kindergarten to Year 12 should be treated as a matter of urgency by all systems.

3.5.3 Parents and the wider community need also to be drawn into active negotiation about issues which surround teaching about their own society. Through parent councils and parent teacher meetings, some parents can be drawn into discussion and debate but the forum is not adequate and new means are needed.

3.5.4 Teachers will often find that they want to negotiate the details of the curriculum with their students. Where schools are still given to testing and grading students, teachers are often bound to courses of fixed content. Such courses are inappropriate and in being unresponsive to the needs of local communities are harmful to the intentions of multicultural curriculum development.

4. Strategies

4.1 Multicultural education will develop slowly and erratically and strategies for change are therefore important. Adequate strategies need to rely on explanatory descriptions of the society itself (see points raised in Section 2 above) and a realistic analysis of the curriculum and its openness to change (see discussion in Section 3 above). Actions that look both ways at these two areas will have greater potential to achieve lasting change.

4.2 To the extent that curriculum change relies on teachers, it depends on their perception of its relevance to their own classroom situation and on their confidence that they have the knowledge, skills and resources to cope with innovation. Central authorities should therefore be persuaded to supply teachers with packages of information and materials which relate multicultural issues to existing curricula and give examples of classroom practice.

4.3 The possibilities for teachers to work together are valuable for curriculum development. In South Australia the Ten Schools Project has given a structure to curriculum development; in Victoria Child Migrant Education Services has organised annual workshops for Materials Development which bring interested teachers together to produce classroom materials. The stimulus which teachers can give each other in co-operative working situations is valuable to more than the working group and would lend itself to further development.

4.4 Multicultural education is often thought to be relevant only to schools which have a high proportion of children from migrant families in their population. As it was interpreted in our discussions, multicultural education is relevant and important to all Australian school children. It is therefore important to break the connection in people's minds with migrant education because as long as the connection is accepted it will inhibit the development of fuller programs.

4.5 Multicultural education is thought by some schools to be an adequate substitute for the introduction of Community Language teaching. It is important to make it clear that language study cannot be replaced by some study which is not of a language. There are benefits to be had from studying a language which are not to be had from any other study. To take a child who has grown up bilingually in Australian society and to allow him/her to study the language of his/her home at school cannot be substituted by any other study, no matter how valuable that other study might be. This issue also needs to be clarified in open debate.

4.6 Adequate support for teachers must be sought by them professionally (see discussion, 3.4.5 to 3.4.7 above).

Ethnic and Racial Prejudice in Australia

Lorna Lippmann

The economic stringencies of recent times have served to increase the racism which has been endemic in Australia for the last two hundred years.

1. Aboriginal Discrimination

Aborigines have always suffered most, since the white invasion, from prejudice and discrimination. They are poor economically and their societies have been so impinged upon from the outside that a considerable amount of disorganisation has resulted. Culturally they are the group most distant from the European majority. We tend to project our guilt feelings onto them, which results in a process of blaming the victim.

Aborigines used to be called the most defeated people on earth and were also dubbed a politically powerless group. We have had to revise those estimates recently because historians have given us another view of Australian history and we realise that they were never the most defeated people. In fact they fought back by way of continuing guerilla warfare to an extraordinary extent. In the last few years in particular we have stopped saying that they are utterly powerless politically. All the marches and demonstrations (as for example at the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane in October 1982) have indicated that, considering the smallness of their numbers, they are remarkably adept politically and anything but powerless.

Nevertheless they are continually discriminated against, and recent events at Moree, New South Wales, where racial tensions led to the killing of a young Aboriginal man, caught the attention of the media as the outrage which, in fact, it was. There are many Morees, not just in New South Wales, but in every state in Australia, in most of which race relations are very poor indeed. Aborigines will no longer put up with the oppression which they have suffered in the past. This is one of the reasons for situations like Moree, situations which will become more common as the economic tug between black and white becomes greater. This is particularly evident in the Northern Territory where the Land Rights issue is crucial, and where white Territoreans have organised themselves into pressure groups to demand the repeal of the Federal ***Land Rights (N.T.)*** *Act* of 1976.

2. Preferences Towards Certain Migrant Groups

If we focus our attention on migrant groups there is, and always has been, a pecking order among them. Social surveys, which ask questions as to the most preferred groups of migrants, indicate a preference for native English speakers, while people who are black are the least desired. Those who are perceived as culturally different, whether as to religion or value system, are also among the least preferred.

Attitudes are also influenced by the traditional view of non-Europeans as being inferior to Europeans. No matter how long and hard that view has been counteracted by a whole host of scientists, it still remains in the popular mind. This has been exploited by the Radical Right groups, of which there are over twenty in Australia. It appears that they are gaining in numbers and in influence, and certainly their finances are remarkably sound. They can mail tens of thousands of copies of a document all around Australia — quite an expensive exercise — but it is being done to an increasing degree.

3. Newcomers as a Threat to Established Migrants

Newer migrants coming in — for example the Vietnamese, who are an easily identifiable group and who seem to attract a great deal of publicity — tend to settle in the inner city areas or in those where community services are sparse. Migrants who are already living in such areas, have to 'move over' and make room for the newcomers in every way: health services, education services and the like. They may find that their English language lessons are suddenly terminated in favour of the newer arrivals. The result is a diminution of already inadequate services and this is not conducive to good relations between the different cultural groups.

4. Most Preferred Groups

Migrant groups which are least troubled by prejudice are those which are substantial in numbers, have a sizeable middle class among them, are well organised (and this is a very important point), have been in Australia for quite a long time, and are perceived as being culturally similar to Anglo-Australians and therefore potentially assimilable.

EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES FOR COMBATING PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPING SUITABLE FOR USE IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Source: *Component Seven,* a course of studies in human rights. Canberra: Human Rights Commission (forthcoming).

Stereotyping, Overgeneralisation

(i) Take two small boxes the same size and shape and prepare them in advance, part filling one with stones or scraps and wrapping it in attractive paper with a gift ribbon. In the other put sweets or nuts and dried fruit and wrap it in old brown paper only. Place the boxes at the front of the class. Indicate that they are gifts from a rich relative, perhaps, and that the class is to get one and the teacher the other. The class has first choice. Some, maybe most, will express preference for the attractive box. Open the other (as the 'teacher's'), show its contents and put them away. Give the 'class choice' to someone vocal in their preference for it, to open up and show to the rest. Initiate a class discussion on:

- other occasions when they have chosen something wrongly by going on appearance alone (how does advertising use this ploy to sell goods and services? Why do people so often judge a 'book by its cover'?);
- other occasions when they may have judged another *person* on how he or she looked (what he or she was wearing, or some other difference); or
- some other occasion when they were judged *themselves* by the same superficial standards.

End by getting the class to word broad definitions of 'stereotype' and 'prejudice' (i.e. *not* ones that name any particular or personal incidence of it) that can be written up and kept for reference. Do pay attention to the human propensity to anticipate things on little information or value reflection — and the way in which stereotypes or prejudices can be exacerbated or mitigated by the open or closed character of one's individual personality and/or the opinions of relatives, friends and other people. (The teacher might offer examples of his or her own, where one case 'confirmed' a stereotype, or led to a prejudice for or against a whole category of humanity, e.g. where an unscrupulous lawyer 'confirmed' a stereotype of a prejudice toward *all* lawyers as being unscrupulous).

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(ii) This business of *overgeneralising* can be explored by asking students to think of a person they don't like. Ask them to think of one word that would summarise what it is they don't like about that person (his or her rudeness, 'pushiness' or whatever). Ask for some examples *(without* names) and write them up, e.g. X is always unfriendly etc. Next ask for one word (again, *without* any names) that might describe how the unliked individual looks, and write it beside the characteristic nominated in each case, e.g. X is always unfriendly; X is skinny. All skinny people are unfriendly.

Discuss with students whether they agree or disagree with the overgeneralisation, and why.

(iii) Next, write up some *ethnic* and *racist* statements of the same sort, e.g.

Bruce farts a lot
Bruce is an Anglo-Australian
Anglo-Australians fart a lot

Kathy is a good tennis-player
Kathy is an Aboriginal
Aboriginals are good tennis-players

Emy gets good marks
Emy is Jewish
Jewish students are very clever

Ask students for other examples of false logic of this sort, pointing out how often such logic crops up in real life. Statements like these are the basis for stereotyping and for prejudicial behaviour of many kinds.

(iv) The prevalence of ethnic and racial stereotyping and prejudice is readily made apparent by interviewing adults outside school in such a way as to solicit descriptions of particular groups *(including* that to which the student may belong) and collating the results of such interviews in class.

(v) Write up the following lists of people and attributes:

1. fat people
2. redheads
3. old people
4. politicians
5. poor people
6. teenagers
7. actresses
8. professors

1. are grumpy
2. are dirty
3. have quick tempers
4. don't respect adults
5. are dishonest
6. are always happy
7. are absent-minded
8. are beautiful

Have the class match the pairs. These are all common stereotypes and prejudices. While *some* people in each category *will* have the characteristics attributed to them, these will be in the minority. *Most* will be something else. Note how overgeneralisation leads to stereotyping, to prejudice, and ultimately discrimination.

White Australian stereotypes of Aboriginals, as noted earlier, tend to characterise the latter as stupid, dirty, lazy, irresponsible, wasteful, untidy, unambitious, drunkards.

Aboriginal stereotypes (at least, urban ones) of white Australians characterise the latter as exploitive, greedy, dishonest, violent, racist, dominating, foreigners.

What do you think the old man with the camera sees in you?

(vi) Stereotypes and prejudices are built into our language and, unless we become aware of the process, help to reinforce set attitudes of this sort.

Write *black* and *white* as headings at the top of the board. Ask students to think of as many words or phrases as they can which have black or white in them, and write these words or phrases up under separate headings. Some examples: black looks, white lies, black day, white knight, blackmail, whitewash, blacklist, black sheep, etc. Some may need to be explained.

Put a tick (✓) after those with a positive meaning, and a cross (X) after the negative ones. Those that seem neither positive nor negative, mark as neutral (=). Add up the score of ticks and crosses under each heading, then note what this tells us about how our language is loaded. Discuss with the class the significance, in this context, of the slogan: black is beautiful. Are there other ways of expressing each of the words or phrases that don't have the same connotations? How do we use language to designate differences, i.e. *to discriminate?*

(vii) Discuss the stereotypic prejudice: 'They're all alike, really'. Give each child a potato. Ask them to make friends with it; really get to know it — all its little characteristics and distinguishing marks. Ask a few students in turn to introduce their potato to the class, describing its appearance in detail and telling stories about how it got to be the way it is. Place all the potatoes back in a box and mix them together. Have students find their own friend from among the common lot. Point out the obvious parallel — that any group of people are all alike, but once you get to know them, they are *also* all different. Taking the time to get to know people as individuals means suspending prejudices and stereotypes long enough to allow this to happen.

(viii) Have students close their eyes, imagine they have a camera and are about to take a photo of an Aboriginal (or conversely, depending on the class, a non-Aboriginal, or some other ethnic group). Have them sketch what they see. Then look at contemporary pictures of Aborigines (or the others) and compare what their 'photos' portray with the range of what obtains in fact. Note the settings depicted (rural, urban), the attire (tribal, Westernised), the adjectives used in verbal description (and any other stereotypic aspects of what students have drawn), and compare these aspects with the variety of Aboriginal (non-Aboriginal) life in the real world. Discuss as a class: where do stereotypic images come from? What purpose do they serve? How useful are they? How might they lead to prejudice and to prejudicial behaviour on the part of the protagonist? How might they lead to unfairness or unkindness? How might they lead to treating particular people differently, i.e. to discrimination. (This can become a project in itself, e.g. the non-Aboriginals, in this case, documenting the reality of contemporary Aboriginal life etc.)

(ix) Write up the following:

1. I don't like old-fashioned people.
2. Old-fashioned people wear boring clothes.
3. I don't like the look of the clothes some old fashioned people wear.

Discuss which is the *stereotype*, which the *prejudice*, and which the expression of like or dislike? What are the facts of the matter?

Repeat this process for the following:

1. Migrants are money-hungry.
2. I don't like the way some migrants place so much importance on financial success.
3. I don't like people getting ahead.

Or:
1. I don't like teachers because they are always too bossy.
2. I don't like the way some teachers boss me around.
3. Teachers are a bossy lot.

Recapitulate on the difference between a *stereotype* of a group of people, a *prejudice* against them (an idea that is basically unreasonable and cannot be sustained in fact), a *dislike* that can at least be given some substance by reference to individual taste, choice or values, and the facts of the matter (usually insufficient and contrary).

What are the Particular Problems that Ethnic Communities face in Australia?

(i) The most common and pervasive problem ethnic communities face is the feeling of being outside the in-group. The activity most commonly used to dramatise this feeling is to arrange the class by eights or tens in tight circles, have the circles interlock arms, and then have one student play the role of an 'outsider' attempting to get 'in'. If she or he succeeds in doing so, then she or he can join the group and another can leave it to try to break in. When each has had the experience of being kept outside, discuss what it feels like to be so. Point out the parallel between this activity and the plight of many immigrants who have come to Australia over the years, people often with nowhere else to go, eager for social entry and often having it denied them by members of the majority culture.

Another form of this same activity involves nominating one student as the 'outsider' for the day. A pin-on badge can be used to make this status clear. The stigma that attends the wearing of the badge is plain for all to see. Instruct the class not to understand any word the 'outsider' says. Anything the 'outsider' wants to say has to be conveyed by gesture. Robbed of his or her capacity to communicate by language, he or she will inevitable seem 'dumb' (in both senses) and will be at a distinct disadvantage for the duration of the experience.

If teasing becomes too intense, or the effect on the 'outsider' too unhappy, then the activity can be called off. Always have the 'outsider' explain how he or she felt, however, while pointing out that for 'outsiders' in real life, things cannot be 'called off'. They just have to cope (or not, as the case may be). Have the class discuss how *they* felt as the insiders, and why. Repeat on occasion, with a different student each time in the excluded role.

(ii) One way of determining the sort of situation ethnic groups face in Australia is to assess the resistance they get from others in the community. This can be measured, in a crude way at least, by listing a *scale of acceptance* on the part of other groups that ranges from far to near thus:

1. I would not allow any of that group of people into this country.
2. I would only let them into this country as tourists.
3. I would allow them to live and work here and to become citizens.
4. I'd be happy to have some of them living near me.
5. I'd be prepared to have them in my class.
6. I'd be happy to have them as personal friends.
7. I wouldn't mind if someone in my family married one.

List a number of groups of people, and then ask each student to give the number of the statement above that he or she felt represented the most comfortable social distance he or she could cope with in each case. A sample list of groups might include: Aboriginals, Anglo-Australians, Arabs, Callonians, Chinese, Dutch, English, Greeks, Irish, Italians, Jews, Lebanese, Poles, New Zealanders, Vietnamese, Yugoslavs.

Collate the results (if anonymity is preferred, written lists can be used). Discuss which peoples students seemed to accept the least. Discuss which they seemed to accept the most. (Callonians do not exist, and are put in only to test the typical research finding that those who express intolerance toward a number of peoples, tend to express the same for all. Don't answer questions about this group until the activity is ended. It can, of course, be deleted if deemed inappropriate.)

(Adapted from D. Shiman, *The Prejudice Book*, 124-5)

How Racist Are We?

- The *scale of acceptance* can be replaced by 'race' groups, e.g. skin colours:

	Number
black	________
yellow	________
pinky-grey	________
green	________

Collate the results and discuss.

- Give instructions on how to conduct this, and the previous test, and have a suitable list of ethnic and racial groups made up for students to take home and to get a parent to take. Collate the results (anonymously) in class and discuss.

Ethnic Schools

Uri Themal

Introduction

Given that the phenomenon of ethnic schools is so complex, it is dubious that this workshop can do more than scratch the surface. However, some major recommendations have been made.

Definition

For the purposes of the discussion about the place of ethnic schools the workshop recommends the following definition (based on the Report of Professor M. Norse).

Ethnic schools are: schools or classes which are ethnic community based, operating outside the framework of systemic schools, not run for profit, which conduct regular voluntary courses for pre-school and school age students (outside normal school hours except for pre-school), which are designed to teach Community Languages other than English (CLOTEs) and provide for the maintenance of culture.

Importance

Ethnic schools provide children with additional educational experiences which complement the total education of a child in a multicultural society. They are symbols of Australia's cultural diversity and provide a large component of its population with a sense of cultural identity and continuity as well as providing language maintenance, thus supplying a substantial linguistic resource. It would be beneficial for the formal education system to recognise that it derives a substantial benefit from the existence of ethnic schools, by educating students whose learning capacity is already enhanced by the linguistic, historic and cultural subjects covered in ethnic schools.

The formal day school is the common educational and social meeting ground for children of all ethnic origins. Therefore, it must be conscious of its role as a catalyst for the provision of relative perspectives of attitudes or views gained in ethnic schools. History, Social Science and Multicultural Studies courses are especially important in this context.

Status — Value

In order to upgrade the appreciation of the important role and value of ethnic schools it is essential to give general recognition to their achievements. One way of doing so would be to register on school reports and Year 10 certificates, as a matter of policy, all outside activities of students (i.e. music, sports, arts etc.) and also attendance at ethnic schools.

Community languages, whether taught in ethnic or systemic schools should be available up to Year 12 level for recognised examination.

Funding

Funding on a per capita basis from Schools Commission funds should continue. But, in addition, state governments should provide ethnic schools with grants which are project and curriculum materials oriented. The per capita funding should be extended to include pre-school classes where they exist.

The project funding should especially follow criteria for materials and resource development, staff development and projects which foster increased co-operation between ethnic and systemic schools.

Projects funding should be granted especially to schools with a small student component since their per capita grant would be small.

It is recommended that ethnic schools not operating from their own premises consider forming *ethnic-school-centres* utilising where possible systemic school buildings which are disused. This would provide for resource sharing and cheaper operations. However, where ethnic schools do continue to operate in active systemic school buildings, their use should be facilitated by the school staff and authority so that they feel welcome. This should be rigorously implemented as *official* policy.

The Ethnic Schools Liaison Officer (ESLO) role is currently not implemented as it was originally envisaged, i.e. to be a spokesperson and facilitator for ethnic schools. It is essential that Schools Commission guidelines be adjusted to provide emphasis for this primary role. The ESLO's duty statements should be adjusted to emphasise their roles as bridging the relationship between ethnic and systemic schools, and specifically to represent ethnic school interests.

Materials

It is essential for ethnic schools to have access to relevant material with which they feel comfortable. Educational Resources Centres should include materials relevant and of use to ethnic schools.

Organisation

It is recommended that representative Ethnic Schools Associations be formed in every State and that they carry the role of partnership to governments and administrators of government funds. They could be a sub-committee of Ethnic Communities Councils. A National Advisory Committee on Ethnic Schools should be recruited from them.

Ethnic Schools

Key Issues raised in the First Institute

1. Nomenclature

a) Should the term *ethnic school* be restricted to part-time schools conforming to Norst's definition?

b) Is the term *ethnic school* appropriate or does *community language school* better define the function and place of such a school within the overall pattern of Australian education?

2. Funding

a) Should ethnic schools receive Government funding without accountability for standards of provision, registration, payment of teachers, and achievements of students?

b) Should schools be funded if entry was restricted to a particular ethnic group?

3. Relationship of Ethnic Schools to Systemic Schools

a) Would formal recognition of work done in ethnic schools solve the problem of providing the variety of community languages required by the uneven ethnic distribution of the school population?

b) Could teaching resource materials be shared by ethnic and systemic schools?

c) Could systemic school buildings be normally available for ethnic schools?

d) Could second language teaching on a regional basis be achieved by co-operation between ethnic and systemic schools?

Comment

1. There was general agreement that the place of ethnic schools within the overall framework is a key issue in multicultural education.

2. It was considered by some that if this issue was not resolved there would be a growth of full-time non-government schools. This was thought to be potentially divisive.

Policies and Programs for the Teaching of Languages

J.J. Smolicz

1. The Rationale for the Teaching of Languages

1.1 Language is the most important part of culture. Hence any discussion of multicultural education that plays down the role of languages in the school curriculum is a hollow one.

1.2 Language learning is important both for the majority and minority groups for racial, cultural, educational, ideological, communicative, and personal reasons.

1.3 Many cultures are language-centred, i.e. the language represents their core value. Hence, elimination of the language concerned reduces the culture to an ethnic residue and a mere variant.

1.4 Language learning is a valuable educational experience, which should be part of a well balanced curriculum of general education, and available to every child in Australia.

1.5 The learning of the home language is the right of every child and the denial of this right could be regarded as an infringement of the individual's rights.

1.6 Foreign languages need to be taught for international, geopolitical, economic, technological and trade purposes.

1.7 It is equally important for Australia to get the best of different cultures through the teaching of community languages, not only to various ethnic groups but also to the Anglo-Saxon Australians.

2. Historical Development in Languages Learning in Australia

The following five distinct stages or phases in language development in Australia can be identified.

2.1 The Aboriginal Stage

Approximately two hundred and fifty living Aboriginal languages existed prior to the white-European invasion of Australia in the eighteenth century. Numerous attempts at a total assimilation of Aboriginal people resulted in many Aboriginal languages becoming extinct. Today only fifty or so languages are spoken by Aboriginal people.

2.2 The Classical/Traditional Stage

During this stage such classical languages as Latin, Ancient Greek and French, which were taught in some of the best schools in Europe and England, were transplanted on the school curriculum in Australia. Languages were taught for intellectual, cultural and educational reasons. Developing the mind *via* languages was an important criterion of the classical ideology in education during the nineteenth century.

2.3 The International or Geo-Political Stage

During the 1960s, international relations (especially in the South-East Asia region), politics, economy, trade and technology began to play a vital role. The era of the Soviet Sputnik (1958) was well under way. Many languages, such as Indonesian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish and others were introduced at all levels of education.

2.4 The Multicultural (Internal) or the Community Language Stage

Multiculturalism grew in prominence during the 1970s. The 1980s have been characterised by an accentuated awareness of the importance of community languages in Australia. This has culminated in the movement toward a National Language Policy. Many community languages have been incorporated in school curricula in recent years. The most notable growth was recorded for Italian, Greek, Serbo-Croat and Turkish.

2.5 The Integrated Stage

At this stage all previous stages co-exist under one coherent language policy that incorporates all the other developments. It would be characterised by both unity and diversity — unity in purpose and diversity in implementation. Current university, college and school curricula show that stages 2, 3 and 4 are well represented.

3. Assumptions for Language Teaching Policies in Australia

3.1 It is acknowledged that *English* is of central significance to all Australians. Hence, any discussion on language teaching is never one of substitution or subtraction, but of addition. (It is never English *or* Greek but always English *plus* Greek.)

3.2 In Australia the era of dominant monolingualism, which has been challenged by multiculturalism and community languages other than English, may be coming to an end. However, the multiculturalist ideology has yet to be translated within the educational domain. Ideally, we should aim at competent bilingualism and competent biliteracy. This can only be achieved if oral usage is underpinned by the mastery of the language's written form. To achieve this end it is necessary to introduce languages in the primary school curriculum.

3.3 The ideal language curriculum model would consist of the following phases:

Phase (i)	Pre-School
Phase (ii)	Primary School
Phase (iii)	Secondary School
Phase (iv)	Higher Education

At the moment phases (iii) (presently in decline) and (iv) are partly catered for in Australia. A minimum of at least three phases is the desired ideal for language competency (of a higher order) and mastery of language skills — reading, writing and speaking. A tertiary component is necessary not only to safeguard teacher education continuity, but also for status and recognition of languages.

4. Policies and Programs

4.1 Greater flexibility is required in the approaches to language teaching. Whenever possible, the language concerned should not only be taught as a subject but be used as a medium of instruction. This facilitates the learning of the language concerned in an educational context, and also provides the opportunity for the study of history and social science related to the ethnic program concerned. Instruction approaches and procedures could be varied according to the size of the ethnic group and its density, as well as to the demand for the language concerned from other groups. Inability to provide equal resources and opportunity for all languages represented in a school should *not* be used as a pedagogical and administrative reason to remove or deny support for those languages where it is feasible.

4.2 For minor languages, ethnic schools will often continue to be the major (if not the only) educational structure (e.g. The Latvian ethnic school in Melbourne is not a supplement to state school instruction but the only place where it is possible to learn Latvian). Support for various ethnic schools should not be used as an excuse to neglect languages in systemic schools. This could lead to excessive ethnic fragmentation and ethnic/cultural separatism through what has been called 'privatisation of ethnicity'. Although day ethnic schools are helpful for some communities it would be a pity if ethnic communities were to be forced out of systemic schools in the way separate Irish Catholic schools were established in the nineteenth century for religious rather than linguistic reasons.

4.3 The development of bilingualism and bilingual schools should be encouraged. Bilingual competency requires mastery of both languages. In our society bilingualism offers proper benefits and social advantages, if the learner is not only bilingual, but also biliterate, as literacy stabilises the language. Transitional bilingualism should be discouraged. The teaching of languages other than English should be for maintenance; this is especially important to the Aborigines. Bilingualism can involve teaching other subjects in the school curriculum in another language. Using a language for one or more school disciplines is one of the most effective ways of developing bilingual and biliterate competency (e.g. Welsh survived because individuals had to learn history and geography in Welsh at school).

4.4 The way languages are taught at school should be adjusted to the demands of the particular community; a choice of at least three different languages that reflect the community needs at that time should be provided. Diversity of community interests, needs, aspirations, wants and desires (not to mention bias) should not be used as an argument against the introduction of languages in the school curriculum. (The fact that you can't please everybody doesn't invalidate the rights of those who wish to be exposed to languages learning experience).

4.5 Various recent Australian studies (Rado, Smolicz, etc.) provide evidence that there *is* a demand for community languages. This is also illustrated by the growth of ethnic day schools in Australia. Positive attitudes towards multiculturalism and language learning in general among both Anglo-Saxon and ethnic students have been reported in the recent research of J. Smolicz and M. Rado. In one study (Smolicz, 1980), up to ninety per cent of students wished to be exposed to languages.

4.6 Language learning should not be constrained by any 'age' criterion. All individuals, no matter how old they are, should have the opportunity to learn languages other than English.

5. Teacher Education

5.1 Every institution in Australia responsible for educating teachers should introduce teacher training programs in languages other than English. At the moment far too few C.A.E.s and other teacher training institutions offer systematic and effective training in languages methods. We believe that one of the major reasons for the neglect of languages in the primary school is a drastic shortage of suitably trained language teachers or teachers who, in addition to their normal teaching subjects, have been trained to teach at least *one* major community language.

5.2 Recent graduates who have arrived from non-English speaking countries and who have tertiary qualifications in recognised disciplines may be suitable applicants for re-training programs in language method. If they cannot be employed in their own specialised field (e.g. law, medicine, engineering, arts etc.) and wish to teach their mother tongue in schools (either state or ethnic), they could be re-trained for language teaching at a teacher training institution, by completing a Diploma of Education (Dip. Ed.) or an equivalent course of teacher training.

5.3 High levels of fluency and literacy should be the main basis for language competency. Teacher training programs should aim at perfecting the oral skill. However, reading, writing and translation should also be emphasised. Some current tertiary programs in community languages may need to be restructured and perhaps even lengthened if they are to achieve their aim — that of preparing fluent and competent bilingual teachers.

5.4 The training of teachers in Aboriginal languages needs to be addressed and the present approach to Aboriginal education needs to be re-evaluated in the light of recent findings. The most commonly cited problem is that of trained teachers who are not sufficiently fluent, let alone speak the Aboriginal language required. Aboriginal people have found that all efforts to have the educational system adjust to meet the needs of their children (e.g. the level and quality of teacher-training, medium of instruction, curriculum content) have fallen on deaf ears. They have been forced, therefore, into a situation of having to establish, whenever it was possible, alternative day schools. Six of these are presently functioning — in Western Australia (2), the Northern Territory (3) and Queensland (1) and two more schools are at the planning stage in Victoria.

6. Implementation Guidelines

When implementing languages into the school curriculum the following factors should be considered:

6.1 The nature of the language (its international, geo-political, community etc. significance) and the way it is related to demands, popularity, and priorities in a given community, both from majority and minority group perspectives.

6.2 Attitudes of the minority groups towards the language in question. Some cultures are more language-centred than others. Hence, the very survival of such a culture may be entirely dependent on continued language learning.

6.3 Demographic factors of ethnic groups in relation to:

(i) size (large or small);
(ii) density (high or low);
(iii) mobility etc.

6.4 Australia has reached a point where an integrated approach to languages learning (as outlined in section 2.5) under one coherent national language policy (NLP) is under discussion. It is necessary that all aspects of such a package be given wide coverage, to allay fears which may be associated with such a concept. Involvement is required at the level of governments (federal and state), education authorities, teacher unions, and the community. It should be clearly demonstrated that:

(i) There is no undermining of the importance of English.

(ii) NLP is aimed at enrichment.

(iii) NLP is necessary for geo-political and economic, as well as multicultural reasons. Decisions on choices of languages offered would take all factors into account.

(iv) There is evidence that Anglo-Australian students are willing to learn community languages. This evidence should be disseminated more widely.

(v) There is an instrumental value, in employment opportunities, in learning community languages.

Concluding Comments

No discussion of multicultural Australia can afford to neglect the standpoint of the late Jean Martin's book *The Migrcnt Presence. Australian Responses 1947-1977* published in 1978*. She writes (1978:21):

> This book is a study of the way in which knowledge about migrants and their place in Australian society has been affirmed and constructed, denied and destroyed, over the past thirty years. The knowledge I am concerned with is that part of social knowledge relevant to decision and action on the part of the government and other publicly responsible institutions.

She argues that 'webs of meaning' are attached to people, actions, social relations, invisible structures, ideas, material phenomena and so on — and that these 'webs' change over time as circumstances give importance to one or other aspect of social living. At one time a certain question is asked, at another time that aspect of living is part of the taken-for-granted. Mental worlds change and meanings of the same data of experience also differ between people alive at the same time.

The two Leadership Institutes reported in this book attempt to portray 'webs of meaning', current in 1982, of the theory and practice of multicultural education.

What are the crucial issues? What forces influence the policy and determine the practice of multicultural education? Can Institutes such as these contribute new insights, and if so, in what ways can they become real in practice?

The plan of the Institutes reflected a shift in emphasis from the debate of the sixties. It had become apparent that in education and schooling forces other than educational theories influence educational policies and practices. The importance of defining what multiculturalism means had faded as an issue along with the realisation that no action, no policy, no prescription follows from the descriptive generalisation 'Australia is a polyethnic state' rather than using the slogan 'Australia is a multicultural society'. Both are summarising assertions, couched in the indicative. The first is a descriptive generalisation and the second a slogan. Slogans serve a very important function in discourse about education. They contain both descriptive and prescriptive meaning: in our case, *Australia is a multicultural society.* In the form of a simple description the slogan urges the reader to adopt an attitude towards minority groups and to favour policies for education which will maintain the culture (still to be defined) of each minority.

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* Martin, Jean I. *The Migrant Presence. Australian Responses 1947-1977.* Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1978.

The first statement is a statement of fact which can be substantiated by statistical data. This was provided by Charles Price in his informative paper. No action — no policy — no prescription follows from this descriptive generalisation. In the debate these statements are sometimes posed as contradictory analyses. For example, in Bullivant's interesting dialogue with Smolicz. *You could say Australia is a polyethnic state and it therefore ought to be a multicultural society. There is little point in further debating which is the correct formulation.*

The particulars of a policy and a program cannot be logically derived from a slogan, nor (as is said above) from a descriptive generalisation. Contradictory practices can be advocated in the name of a slogan since particulars cannot be derived from a slogan. *The general prescription of a slogan has an emotive appeal which has to be translated into policies and concrete plans and into actions.* It is in this act of interpretation that differing views become apparent. Lorna Hannan made this clear when she talked about the range of meanings currently used among teachers talking of multicultural education. The same slogan could be stated to be the basis for widely different programs and procedures. Edward Wolf in his paper refers to the difference in emphasis in the use of 'multicultural as a term to describe a social formation that must be consciously constructed and as a term which describes a demographic fact'.

The debate is not about what multiculturalism means. It is about the *possibility* of reconciling the need for the rule of law — for legitimate authority, which in a political democracy is ultimately based on support and consent of the people, with the preservation of ethnic groupings. It is about social organisation of cultural difference. It is about whether and how education can correct prejudice and racism. It is about whether there are irreconcilable differences in *values* (so called cultural dissonance), and in the customary behaviours in which they are expressed in the various groups in contemporary Australia. Argument about the correctness of slogans gets us nowhere. Each particular of a policy or program has to be argued for independently.

It follows from this standpoint that the First Institute would concentrate on describing the current situation, and by inviting speakers who would perceive different aspects to be of prime importance and had different theoretical positions, would evolve a rounded view of the present debate on multicultural education, the 'web of meanings'.

It is impossible in the confines of these concluding paragraphs to do justice to the excellent papers and interesting reports of group discussions. The shortened versions of the papers in this volume must speak for themselves. Readers will perceive the differences which are obstacles to consensus. There is fundamental opposition between analyses which attach prime importance to race/ethnicity and those which find class or gender more significant. Meade's paper operates with the term eth-class but does not solve the problem of the weight of importance to be attached to each in a particular case. Wolf's paper sees the conjunction of poverty and ethnicity as central, and the papers on language and language policy stress the contribution made to low economic status by lack of the national language. The deep-seated nature of prejudice against Aboriginals and newcomers to Australia, in proportion to the range of difference in customs and bodily conformation to the ruling group, is stressed as a contributory handicap.

> Migrants, as grouped by occupation, income and place of residence, show a higher percentage than the average of the population as a whole unemployed and in unskilled work. They enter into the partial universe of the comparatively poor of the dominant group.
> (Falk, B. *Personal Identity in a Multi-cultural Australia* [The Buntine Oration]. Melbourne: A.C.E.R., 1978:11)

Bullivant argues, in his contributed paper to the First Institute, that:

> Life chances . . . are determined . . . by structural inequalities in the socio-economic and political systems of society . . . They are influenced by factors which are non-cultural and lie outside the school . . . [They] are not likely to be countered by programmes of multicultural education.

He makes a distinction between the state, a *vertical* structure of public authority, and the nation, which is essentially a *horizontal* network of trust and identity. He upholds the position taken by Jean Martin that ethnic cultures in a pluralist society have never been sustained without *structural* pluralism.

The term *structural pluralism* can be interpreted to necessitate a range of provisions. At one extreme would be the setting up of ethnic electorates (so many representatives in State and Federal Legislatures of, for example, the Italian community). This would raise the question of residents of Australia who are not naturalised voting: at the other end, provision for ethnic welfare officers and state aid to ethnic schools. To implement the more thorough interpretation it would be necessary to have legal criteria for membership of an ethnic group. An unfortunate misunderstanding prevented this topic being addressed at the Institutes. The only Australian group for which there is established criteria is the Aboriginal community. It reads:

> Any person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Island descent and who is accepted by the community as such, is deemed an Aboriginal.
> (Aboriginal Affairs Newsletter, 1975:61, quoted by Vic Forrest in his paper, *Cultural and Linguistic Factors Affecting the Educational Achievements of Aboriginals — An Aboriginal Perspective)*

There is an ambiguity in the use of 'community'. The reference may be to the Aboriginal Community or to the other inhabitants of Australia. It gives no guidance to the position of the quarter caste or to Australians with an eighth Aboriginal inheritance. There is a problem for a democracy in defining minority group membership. A person who claims to be a Turk or a Jew in order to receive a benefit may not be accepted as a member by that group, and involuntary ascription is repugnant to democratic principles. This issue is usually glossed over in discussion of structural pluralism.

Another point which was addressed by several contributors was the question of conflict of value systems. Smolicz makes the assumption that there is no essential conflict between the various cultures of Australian ethnic groups. 'It was also assumed', he continues, 'that ethnic cultures contributed to the evolution of shared values and that a dynamic equilibrium existed between them'. He sees this progress as dependent on a 'tolerance ratio' and concludes that compatibility of value systems should be taken into account in admitting migrants, that is, in the 'cultural planning of our migration policy'.

Eric Willmott casts penetrating light on the heart of prejudice in discussing this issue. He writes:

> Clearly, then, the solution to successful polygenesis lies within the character of the groups of people which constitute the experimental society. The character lies within their commonality and their differences.
> An experiment carried out with tertiary students in South Australia by Geoffrey Coyne sheds some light on this issue. He used the Rokeach value inventories on two groups. One was a mixed-race Aboriginal group and the other an equivalent number of non-Aboriginal students. From the inventories Coyne could find no significant differences in the values of the two groups. This unexpected result was compared with projective tests which asked each group to record the values of the other. This second test recorded very different results. Although the first test showed the groups to have common values, they each identified the second group as distinctly different from themselves. They saw their identities as different.

The subjective perception of difference may be contradicted by comparison of the values adhered to.

The reported discussion of *Ethnic and Racial Prejudice in Australia* takes the argument further. It states that conflict of material interest intensifies racism. This can be exemplified by a national recession and by the antagonism between older-established and newcomer minority groups. They point to the existence of proselytising racism and the mechanisms of stereotyping to which such groups can appeal. Any appearance of positive discrimination for migrants can be used by them.

Stan Piperoglou mentions in his paper *Ethnic Community Organisations,* in reference to the Australian Greek Welfare Society, that

> . . . something like ninety-six per cent of all funds that come into the organisation come from government sources.

He sees ethnic communities as 'any other interest group', increasingly able to define issues for themselves and to participate in the whole political and educational process. This large minority group sets out, by voluntary co-operation, to achieve its ends with the aid of government funds. It is not different, in principle, from the procedures of previous religious, welfare and educational organisations, for example State aid to independent schools and to Catholic and Jewish welfare agencies.

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Piperoglou contends

> . . . until the state systems organise themselves properly in terms of community language and bilingual teaching there is no other realistic choice for ethnic communities than ethnic schools.

Marlene Norst argues persuasively for the use of *community language schools* as a name which describes the function of so-called ethnic schools more accurately. Both the Norst and Themal papers and the report from the Second Institute point to the present importance and need for financial support and provision of materials for community language schools. Granting status to teachers, adequate housing, and recognition for work done in these schools would require close collaboration and formal inclusion in state systems of education.

If it is accepted that ethnic schools should be recognised, there are important consequences for national language policy, the content of curricula and provision for teacher training.

Marlene Norst found that the great majority of communities expressed a wish to have their language taught as a regular part of the day school curriculum both in primary and high school, and saw the part-time school as having an important continuing supportive role to play.

Kerr, in his paper *A National Language Policy* talks of ineptitude and confusion.

> Community language programs, bilingual programs and adult literacy programs are being introduced without proper planning, without clear aims and without any guarantee that the methods and materials used are capable of realising any worthwhile aims . . . We do not know whether we should teach languages for transition or maintenance, and whether our resources are adequate for either.

Uri Themal reminds us that language learning does not necessarily equip us for the type of multicultural society that we want.

In what general direction then can a national language policy point for those planning curricula for schools and institutions of teacher education?

David Francis speaks of the function of the Commonwealth to foster *an evolving responsive, initiatory approach* and of a core curriculum:

> . . . a core of common values, of understanding, of thinking and other skills that all Australians, regardless of ethnicity, religion, class, political affiliation or other aspects of personal or group identity should experience at school . . . Multicultural education is not seen as a single subject but an approach which should be part of all subjects and for all students.

He warns:

> education . . . cannot and perhaps should not seek to go beyond the perceived limits of what society will accept. This obviously limits what schools can do and has wide ranging curriculum implications.

As soon as discussion becomes of this degree of generality one turns back to what happens in a specific classroom. The problems of division of responsibility within the Commonwealth Education Portfolio and between Commonwealth/State Education authorities: the moves towards devolution of responsibility to regions in some states and to school-based decisions on curricula underline the intricacy of the channels through which decisions are made that lead to a period of study for a class of children and to what the teacher who is ultimately responsible does.

The realism of Lorna Hannan's approach brings us down to earth, and we read again the case studies and realise afresh the central importance of the teachers who are in direct contact with school children.

Keith Simkin's paper in the First Institute spoke of teacher education. He said:

> It is not hard to make the case that the response of teacher educators to the needs of children and parents from different ethnic backgrounds has been inadequate.

It is harder to determine which or all of TESL community language issues, bilingual education, and intercultural studies should be included in all programs of teacher education. He points out that strategies to come to grips with these processes go well beyond teacher training institutions and into the areas of political philosophy and practice.

The discussion group in the Second Institute set out to delineate these areas and draw specific consequences for teacher education. They note that 'an adequate theoretical justification has not been proved for many proposals'. They point to disillusion regarding the value of schooling and a consequent reliance on migrant networks. Recession and its social consequences may promote a return to the 'ghetto mentality'. The aims they outline for pre-service and in-service programs are designed to sensitise teachers to the needs of individual children, and a heightened understanding based on better knowledge of the diversity of worlds which the children inhabit.

Teacher attitudes will play a large part in the hidden curriculum of a class whatever the formal course of study may prescribe. There are very different beliefs about the degree to which prejudices can be modified in adults by the programs which are practicable for pre-service and in-service courses for teachers. There are optimists and pessimists about the modification of prejudice in the population as a whole. This is one of the areas where it is difficult to produce convincing argument.

We mentioned earlier that an obstacle to consensus in the Institutes was the degree of importance attached to ethnicity as a tool of analysis compared to socio-economic status or gender.

If you deliberately bring together people with different standpoints consensus is not the expected outcome. What is expected is that differences will be rationally displayed and that, without acrimony, participants will look for points for which there is reasonable proof, those which are in process of modification in practice, and those which can be accommodated if goodwill can be achieved.

The bringing together of people in this way is part of the process of change. In this sense the two Institutes were a success. The network which enabled such a diverse group of experts to come together was strengthened. In particular, the participation of Aboriginal colleagues was greatly appreciated, as was the coming together of people geographically separated and working in different levels of education.

There was a shared determination not to be diverted into debate about slogans or Utopian dreams. The historical perspective which Jean Martin gave to the discussion of 'The Migrant Presence' shows in the Institute's step forward from generalities to a facing up to the justification for particular solutions to specific problems. There has been some loss of euphoria but the ugliness of racism and fear, though heightened by economic recession, is being faced squarely. The Institutes were characterised by honesty and goodwill. They did not produce a series of recommendations. The process of debate was, in a sense, the product. This record of discord and agreement shows where work needs to be continued.

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